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ABSTRACT

This symposium publication consists of 26 presentations. Papers are "'How to Eat an Oreo': Using African American Research through Personal Narrative To Analyze Ethnic Dysmorphic Phenomenon" (Ashford); "Authentic Members: Uncovering Adult Children" (Barnes); "What Good Is Government? Assessment of Government Official Impact on Black Businesses" (Benjamin); "Linking the South with the South in the Northern Illinois University Adult Education (AE) Graduate Program" (Cunningham, Shim); "Caring" (Dixon); "Community Empowerment Through Participatory Research: Case Study of Citizen Participation in Town Hall Meeting Planning and Implementation" (Easley); "Missing Piece: Evaluating Educational Software" (Ellens-Sanders); "Is There Room for Self-Directed Learning in AE?" (Fuentes); "In Our Own Images: Using Photography for Empowerment Through Critical Literacy" (Gallo); "Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the Lavalas Movement" (Germain); "Christianity from the Perspective of African Peoples" (Gittens); "Time for Truth: Women of Color and the National Women's Studies Association: Critical Ethnographic Analysis" (Garth); "Where Do They Come from: African-American Nurses Tell Their Stories" (Stevens); "Afrikana Church's Role in Educating Afrikana Adults: Moving from Emotionalism to Activism, Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church of Chicago" (Kirkwood); "Impact of Globalization on the South" (Kjellquist-Gutierrez); "Generating Knowledge from the Field: Study of the Clinical Decisions of Social Workers" (Mann); "Analysis of the Moynihan Report: New Look in the New Millennium" (McCoy); "Blacks in the Old West" (Porter); "Relationship Between Poverty and Adult Literacy: Highlights of the Pilot Study of Poor, Urban Single Mothers in Gaborone, Botswana" (Raditloaneng); "Exploring the Woman Superintendent's

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Career Paths" (Regan); "Who Will Lead: Examination of Black Male Leadership Theory and Development" (Rice-Charleston); "Afritics: Interpreting the Political Style of African American Women as Political Leaders" (Rogers); "Constructing Curriculum in and for Alternative Settings: Designing a Quality Community-Based Art and Entrepreneurship Program Model for Inner City Youth" (Simpson); "Expanding the Small Space: AE as Counter Colonial Force--Rastafari as an Example of the Potential of AE to Support a Large View of Social Reality" (Stanley); "I Think I Can Cognitions" (Stuckey); and "Academic Success of Unmarried African-American Female High School Students Who Are Parenting: Preliminary Analysis" (Stuckey). (YLB)

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ED 452 416

The 10th Annual African American and Latino/a American Adult Education Research Symposium

PROCEEDINGS

Every Voice Counts...

April 21, 2001

Malcolm X College
1900 West Van Buren Street
Chicago, IL 60612

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Preface

There have been notable contributions by African and Latin American graduate students to adult education. These contributions have been both a labor of love and pride in knowledge production extending from the university to the African and Latina/o communities. As we celebrate this tenth annual African American and Latina/o American Adult Education Research Symposium (AERS), it is important to critically reflect on its history and contribution to the field of adult education.

Margaret Shaw and Professor Phyllis Cunningham (NIU) were both instrumental in establishing the African American Graduate Students Adult Education Research Symposium of Northern Illinois University. Phyllis Cunningham, always very supportive of African American and other students of Color, lent her support in the organizing efforts of the symposium. Margaret Shaw, always willing to give of herself, worked diligently and spearheaded the establishment of this symposium. The African American Graduate Students Adult Education Research Symposium responded to a dire need for African American graduate students to dialogue and share their knowledge and innovative research, to explore the critical issues germane to African Americans in both academic and community education settings and acknowledgments of the contributions of African Americans to the field of adult education. **We, the beneficiaries of this symposium, pay special tribute to Dr. Margaret Shaw and Dr. Phyllis Cunningham on this celebratory occasion of the tenth annual African American and Latina/o American Adult Education Research Symposium.** The following provides a brief historical overview of this research symposium.

Emerging Scholars Toward a Black Agenda in Adult Continuing Education (November 1991) marked the beginning of the African American graduate students research symposium. It was an historic occasion and the first research symposium by African American graduate students at Northern Illinois University that identified key issues in the field of adult education relevant to African American scholars and practitioners. I was proud and honored to participate and fondly remember the participation and support of African American graduate students. It was truly a heartfelt experience and participants were greatly impacted by the research and scholarship of the key speakers: Scipio Colin III, Laverne Gyant, Edwin Hamilton, Elizabeth Peterson and Jovita Ross-Gordon.

Following this historic and successful symposium, the second research symposium, **"The Black Experience: Bridging the Gap Between the Community and the University"**(October, 1992) was held. This symposium was co-sponsored by Northern Illinois University, Malcolm X College and Adult Education Research Consortium and hosted by Malcolm X College in Chicago. This research symposium highlighted the critical need to explore, analyze and discuss the contributions of the African Diaspora. The knowledge obtained had far reaching effects.

May 1993 would mark another historic event, the first national African American Adult Education Pre-Conference. The pre-conference entitled, **"A Link for Community Development and Empowerment,"** was held at Pennsylvania State University. I was among seventeen graduate students of African ancestry from the United States and Africa who presented both exciting and cutting edge research. Presentations offered a variety of paradigms and included: an historical overview and reflection upon the contributions of

African Ameripean scholars; policy issues and implications; womanist perspective, a theoretical construct employed by women of African ancestry and forming linkages through culturally contextualized adult education curricula. This conference was also an exciting and affirming event.

It is noteworthy that Malcolm X College has been a staunch and notable supporter, and that all of the Adult Education Research Symposium (AERS) have been held at Malcolm X College. The symposia was later expanded to facilitate dialogue between African American and Latin American graduate students. In April 1994 the fourth annual adult continuing education research symposium marked the collaboration of African and Latin Americans graduate students and the first African American and Latina/o American Adult Education Research Symposium. Its title, **"Crossing Cultures: A Multicultural Exchange in Adult Education Theory and Practice,"** facilitated dialogue concerning the critical issues germane to African and Latina/o Americans in academia and community settings. Sessions included learning theories, teaching approaches for African and Latina/o American students, womanist theories, Third World feminist perspectives in education and identity politics. It was a wonderful and collaborative experience.

The dialogue/discourse continued and the fifth annual adult education research symposium and the second African American and Latina/o American Adult Education Research Symposium, **"Somos Differente, Somos Uno/We Are Different, We Are One: A Critical Examination of Race, Class, and Gender in the Development of Adult Education Theory and Practice,"** was held in April 1995. The symposium was a powerful learning exchange experience and one that will be remembered for many years to come.

The sixth, seventh, eight and ninth annual AERS and the third, fourth, fifth and sixth African American and Latina/o American Adult Education Research Symposium: **"Exploring African and Latin American Relationships: Enhancing Cooperation and Eliminating Barriers** (1996);" **"Taking Power through Self-Reliance Coalition Empowerment and Leadership Development** (1997);" **"Towards A New Self-Reliance: Strengthening the Hearts of America through Co-Ethnic Relationships** (1998);"and **"Making A Way Out of Now Way: When, Where, and How Does Adult Education Touch The Lives of Just Plain Folk? Galvanizing Extraordinary Knowledge In Ordinary Places** (2000)**"** expanded the knowledge base of African and Latina/o American graduate students and their respective communities.

This tenth annual adult education research symposium, **"Every Voice Counts: Counting the voices of scholars on the ground, in the community and at the academy, many voices, no longer silent… .** (2001)**,"** addresses the contours and dimensions of knowledge and promises outstanding research and scholarship. As you join us in our journey and read these proceedings, remember Akili Ni Mali (knowledge means wealth). We thank you for your continued support and attendance and truly hope that you find this historic symposium to be a long lasting experience in both knowledge and growth. Remember the spirit of Sankofa!

Phyllis Ham Garth, Ed.D.
Editor

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"How to Eat an Oreo" Using African American Research through Personal Narrative to Analyze Ethnic Dysmorphic Phenomenon

Willie Ashford

Northern Illinois University

Abstract: The purposes of this paper are two-fold. One is to discuss psychosocial issues that may be brought into one's consciousness via a catalyst, taking a class on African centered studies, and to share the effects of my experiences, as a result of acknowledging a psychological white cultural personality manisfestation. The second is to outline a framework within which to identify and examine the pathology of said effects.

Method

The methodology of this paper utilizes the personal narrative format. This method was chosen because it is useful in displaying psychological content that contains both process and product outcome data. It is my intention to focus first on the transformative product that is a result of the process of studying African centered research. In writing a paper using the narrative it begs the question, of what use could this self-analysis be to anyone other than the writer? In response, I offer that as philosophers from Plato to Cornel West have espoused the necessity for each of us to examine our lives and critically make those choices that are necessary and beneficial. I believe that by exposing this malady within me and offering a general outline regarding how intervention may occur, it may be of use to others experiencing what *Kobi K.K.Kambon sites Baldwin* (1984) as calling psychological misorientation:

In the practice of I looking at the product I mean attending to that which is left in the cognizant and behavioral realm once one's life has been examined with an African Centered lens. In this I am in agreement with the position of Daudi Ajani Ya Azibo when he wrote, "This author takes the position that research must attend to the product of psychological Blackness as well as the process. …It can answer questions like "Of what benefit is Africanicity to Blacks?" How does psychological Blackness enhance the psychological functioning of African-Americans" (p. 206)? I intend to show that by working through the study of African centered studies one can produce a positive effect on an African American's quality of life.

> The Issues to be addressed are why was I not interested in learning about African centered research? How did the study of Afrocentric research affect my cognitive paradigm? And finally how will this knowledge affect my future practice in Adult Education and my life in aggregate.

To begin, upon signing up for LEAC 600 African Centered Research Seminar, Fall 2000, I had a preconceived notion regarding what to expect during the class as I had inquired from others what to expect. I was told that the instructor was an angry black woman who had only one point of view and was malicious to students. It is important to note that at the time that I solicited this advise it was not important to me whether or not the advice givers had ever had this instructor for a course. What I now understand is that I was looking for a vindication of my belief that there was no possible use for studies particular to Black people, apart from other ethnic groups. I knew intellectually that Africans had been slaves, taken from Africa and had gone through terrible times. I knew of the atrocities that have been inflicted upon the African American and I knew that things were improving. I have experienced racism and knew that things could certainly be a hell of lot better, but how could outlining to the world our differences possibly be a step forward. What true benefit would come of studying what this or that black person did in history? I believed in learning about African American leaders, but I didn't see how this would be of use in an academic setting. Is it not true that all of progressive thinking humanity has worked together and we need to bury old issues and get along with the business of unity? I was interested in a multicultural society and courses that spoke to all humankind.

Three weeks prior to the first day of class I had purchased the textbooks. I spent the last few weeks of the summer sitting in the shade; enjoying the warmth of the season and listening to my children play in the background. I began reading the textbooks *In The Vineyard* (1999) by Perry Hall and *Black Studies* (1990) by Talmadge Anderson. I found justification in Halls's book for my disbelief in the need for Afrocentric studies. It appeared to me that Hall was saying that Afrocentricism is predicated on the belief that African-Americans are by birth associated with Egypt.

The importance placed upon Egypt in Africa's and through direct association of birth African-American's heritage put me ill at ease. As I read Hall's position I could identify with it and find fault in someone (Asante) trying to sell us on believing I had to have a connection to Egypt. My problem with Egypt was that I failed to see a connection to anyone or anything that goes past my great grandparents, lest of all a slave (Jews) holder country such as this. To me Egypt is associated with the oppression inherent of regimes based upon religious dogma. Hall continues to show other problematic areas of Afrocentrism as he discusses Stewart's three critiques of Afrocentrism. These critiques center on Afrocentrism's claim that its principles are applicable to "all peoples of African descent." Its "epoch" is outdated for modern times and it perpetrates "racial chauvinism and inter-group conflict by asserting the superiority of peoples of African descent relative to other populations." Hall continues by saying the strongest criticism of Afrocentrism is of those who "say African American Studies itself is Afrocentrism and nothing else." Anderson posits that Afrocentrism needs to be placed under the umbrella of African Studies. Later in writing about alternative approaches to Afrocentrism, Anderson writes "Du Bois left no doubt, surveying the ashes of Europe in 1945, that our task was broader than understanding our own people, culture and history" (p. 79). From this reading I further affirmed my belief that this course would be irritating at best. If Hall could show that Du Bois was against Afrocentricity then why do people continue to teach a class that is based on Afrocentricity?

In looking at the other book *Black Studies*, edited by Talmadge Anderson I was immediately drawn to the article written by Daudi Ahani Ya Azibo, *Personality, Clinical, and Social Psychological Research on Blacks* (p. .25). In this essay Azibo details a structural framework for *an emic* (within-cultural) *research approach...* "this emic approach is termed *the theory-derived steady state approach"* (p. 25). He contends that the theory-derived steady state approach can be used to help explain psychological behaviors of the Black personality. This is exhibited in a paragraph that appeared to me to be particularly scathing.

Azibo offered that this state of being psychologically Black could be tested and that research on African Americans need to have the state of psychological Blackness of the individuals to be studied assessed in order to draw culturally valid conclusions from the results. This made sense to me. I pictured in my mind's eye among others, Clarence Thomas and an ex-gym teacher I had in high school. These are the people who I would classify as "Toms." I then looked at the chapter on "The African Self-Consciousness Scale: An Afrocentric Personality Questionnaire" by Baldwin and Bell. This instrument was designed to assess how an individual has developed the ability to be self-affirming, connected with others of the African "communal phenomenology." The basis of the questionnaire is that individuals develop specific patterns of viewing the world. These patterns can be defined as the person's personality construct. As in other methods of assessing the psychological states of individuals, the state of being an African American could be assessed through a series of psychological tests. As I looked over the instrument, almost all of the questions caused me to experience psychological uneasiness. I became aware that I could not answer the questions and accept the results, which reflected that I had a low African American personality. I chose not to read all of them. They did not seem like "trick" questions the kind which common sense lets you answer to the satisfaction to the test giver. Rather I felt my response to these questions in my gut. I did not want to answer them, "*I couldn't answer them.*" I rationalized away my discomfort by critiquing the test's validity. There was no way of my being sure the test was able to measure what it professed. It probably was outdated and would need to be adapted to modern times where the issues weren't as black and white.

The class itself contained an interesting group of students. The discourse between the instructor and students was different from many of the other classes I have participated in. The instructor had a different style and manner of teaching than I expected. The instructor had intellectual grace, maternal wisdom, and a true grasp of the African American experience.

The students of my age cohort conversed with a familiarity of the subject matter which I have grown accustomed to having in other classes. They were prodding and extending the knowledge constructs of the subject matter. The younger students conversed with the naiveté of youth. Wide eyed with amazement and indignation as the instructor deconstructed the realities of racism and explained the struggles of resistance. I sat in my own mental purgatory. It was a strange sensation when I realized that I had made no effort to truly understand my own culture. My amazement was in how I had failed to seek out the knowledge of African American people. I could not claim ignorance. Nor could I claim laziness. The reason that I finally settled upon is that I avoided African American scholars, because I devalued their contribution. I was prejudice against the new authors as being too angry and single-minded. I did not consider the classic writers as necessary reading for my educational pursuits. (*I now find this quite ironic since I have always contended that my goal was to be of service to the African American community.*) I began to wonder if I was a fraud. Hiding my blackness as a birthmark to be dismissed and not talked about. Lowering my eyes and speaking quietly, not to draw attention to myself and my otherness. Stepping out of the way in hallways, always being courteous and friendly. Feeling somehow responsible for the woman in the store or on the street who checked the location of their purse and/or children when I was near. I rationalized *why shouldn't she be afraid. Doesn't she watch "COPS," read the newspaper and listen to the 6 and 10 o'clock news?* Again I queried my psyche "are you a fraud, an Oreo, a Tom?" I decided I would make up for my lack of knowledge by becoming familiar with the classics in African American research and thought. I believed that this would give me the knowledge to manage and navigate a course out of the mental quagmire that was perplexing my core being. By this time we were a month into the course. And I had fallen two assignments behind. This had never happened to me since I reentered college. I couldn't formulate how to begin or complete the assignments. I had no knowledge base from which to draw except my own experiences and this I now held suspect. This did not appear to be a problem for anyone other than myself, *I know because I checked.* I had the sensation of being in the class but not part of the class.

It was at this point that I started reading *Afrocentricity* (1988) by Asante. Reading Asante's prose was somewhat akin to listening to a preacher speak with the certainty of being on the side of the righteous and a philosophical warrior. However, the dogma filter in me was ever wary of the utopian African rhetoric within Asante's persuasion. Even an uncritical mind would not for long hold to the belief in an all-loving altruistic nation of human beings, such as he portrayed the African cultural. But, the clarity of his message on being an African American was powerful. His ability to deconstruct the Eurocentric paradigm gives one a strong foundation from which to critique society (Hall). In chapter 3 Asante wrote, "Afrocentricity questions your approach to every conceivable human enterprise. It questions the approach you make to reading, writing, jogging, running, eating, keeping healthy, seeing, studying, loving, struggling, and working (p. 45).

Asante's writing evoked a sense of pride within me. He was saying things that I had long ago forgotten and others that I had never imagined. Within his statements I was able to identify with a message that did not call for me to kill Caucasians such as is found in Islam nor was I cautioned to surrender and turn the other cheek as in Christianity. Instead I was urged to stand up and exhibit my confidence in being as good and worthy as any other simply by birthright and deed. He also championed that we use our intellect and praxis to further our common cause in the struggle for place.

Within Afrocentricity I also found a way out of my ignorance and current psychological status of misorientation. A key issue for me was in how Asante addressed the issue of where a person could start the process of reclaiming their Africanicity. He offered that if one cannot identify with Egypt and Africa, then you could look to places and people in America. This was a more realistic connection for me. I make this connection by thinking of the hundreds of thousands of African Americans who withstood hardship and death to allow the African American the level of access that we now have. The African American in the twenty-first century has the potential to truly help shape the world and humanity to come. It was more than simple luck that allowed our ancestors to withstand hundreds of years of oppression. The Diasporian experience is truly the collective spirit that is alive within us. From the ex-slave Booker T. Washington, the intellectual W.E.B. Du Bois, preachers, dancers, lawyers and Chicken George. Those who served in the armed services, the shoes shine man, Amos & Andy and Mohamed Ali, Rosa Parks, Malcolm and Martin, my grandmother, my father and mother, ad infinitum. Our history is rich with culture, one only needs to know where to look, and to take action to look. The yardstick isn't quantity of linear time, but the quality and richness of these experiences. Using the limited knowledge that I had of these individuals I was able to form a base for an Afrocentric mindset and interweave it with Asante's theory.

I was constantly on the Internet finding information on research involving African Americans, the Diaspora, and Black psychology. At this time I was unable to articulate and write about what I was learning, because I didn't comprehend enough to make sense of it. Working on a doctorate seemed unimportant to me at this time. I felt that my study on African American research was important to me as a human being. There arose in me anger and a need to be distant from the university setting. It was difficult to reconcile efforts aimed at the liberation of my mind while at the same time dancing to the tune of a university overseer. The method I chose to attune this dilemma was to stop attending the university. *I feel that it is important to note here that I met with the instructors of the classes and expressed that I was having difficulty in seeing a need to continue with my studies. Only one of them did not question my motives and offered encouragement and structured advice on how to remain in the program if I decided to continue and took action to help me keep the academic door open.* I relate this to expose the power of having someone role modeling an Afrocentric perspective. I believe that the professor performed this praxis not because of me specifically but as a matter of her conviction to help an African American. This is part of the power of intellect that I have come to understand that is needed to assist people of the Diaspora. This plays an important component in the issue of individual agency that plays out within a social milieu. I began to research Cross's Nigerscence. Mary F. Howard Hamilton in Helping African American Men Succeed in College (1997) wrote "The Nigerscence paradigm is a re-socializing process in which there is "the transformation of preexisting identity (a non-Afrocentric identity) into one that is Afrocentric" (p. 20). In this essay Hamilton is explaining four models that may be applicable to enhancing the success rate of African American college students. The four are:

1. Cross's Nigerscence Theory,
2. Robinson and Howard-Hamilton's Afrocentric Resistance Model,
3. Erickson's Identity Development Model
4. Bandura's Social Learning Model.

For the purpose of this paper I shall focus on Nigerscence . Hamilton continues to say: "There are five stages in the Cross model of Nigrescence" (p. .21). These are Pre-encounter, where one has an individualistic what's in it for me attitude. Next is encounter where a life changing event(s) occurs which makes one face their anti-black positions. Then there is Immersion-Emerson, here one begins to deconstruct the anti-black psychological state and construct a "healthier" pro-African American paradigm. The fourth stage is internalization where the individual is able to use the newly constructed psychological state to defend and assert their right to place. Lastly, there is internalization-commitment. Here one is able "to translate their personal sense of Blackness into a plan of action or general sense of commitment" (Cross, 1995, p. 121). (p. .21) Cross has developed an interesting and potentially effective system for helping to define a process and intervention model that could lead to producing a psychologically healthier African American. I particularly found his fourth stage which details self-empowerment in the individual to interact within society effectively as an African American.

Through this research and personal journey I have been able to arrive at a better understanding of the African American experience. I can now clearly perceive the psychosocial forces, which are institutionalized, and working in racism's favor. I feel that there is yet another component of this equation that needs to be inspected and articulated. That is the dysfunctional nature of a person being psychologically white. Questions include how can it be identified, assessed and then interventions used to help the person begin the recovery process.

Identification

In this section I will discuss the cluster of phenomena associated with the characteristic behaviors referred to (by author) as Ethnic Dysmorphic Phenomenon (EDP). This is defined as an observable (conscious or unconscious) disfavor of one's psychophysicalogical ethnicity. If the African American is surviving and not in psychological distress as Baldwin, implied with "misorientation," then can it be said that there is a problem to be remedied. If there is no psychological distress then it is unlikely that there will be an "encounter event" (Cross) where there will be a life-changing event to cause one to face anti-black or pro-white positions. The African Centered perspective is not one that lends itself to being the police of individual's thought processes. African Americans for the most part are willing to let others "be as big a fool as they want to." I have always agreed with this position, until now. Through researching the African

American experience I find that simply "minding my own business" will not and has not worked. Being psychologically white is a disorder and the person so afflicted has the potential to cause harm not only psychically but also psychologically to self and others. The affects of this malady on the African American population warrant serious consideration and intervention. If we ignore or continue to minimalize the impact of losing our cultural identity, we sentence ourselves to constantly seeking that which cannot be obtained and formally referred to as the "Great Melting Pot." Assimilation into the American culture is a carrot dangling before the African American collective. Those with an African Centered perspective realize that is it a "mind game." Some resist openly to the carrot being dangled in front of us. Others stand by and ignore or dismiss the temptation. But, those who think psychologically white chase the carrot and drag the collective with them. The person displaying EDP continues to chase the carrot. They may be heard to make statements that attempt to take away from their Blackness such as: "I don't want to be the black banker, I simply want to be the banker."

"The lower class," "The people in jail need to be there." These are uncritical blanket statements used to describe a group of people without considering the sociological and psychological implications of their positions. It is an attempt to distance oneself from the collective of African Americans. I, myself, have said to others "I am not a African American. I am an American," claiming my right to all that is American. This was met with nods of approval. Did the Irish Americans, German American or Italian Americans that I was speaking with at that time have a similar drive to disclaim their heritage? No.

Other manifestations of EDP may include a reluctance to shop in African American stores or eat in African American restaurants. There is much that has been written about the psychological state of African Americans. Much of it is pointed at explaining how we are different. Some categorize this difference as better and others paint a negative picture of the psychological state of being of African descent. There are issues of intelligence, capacity and manifest destiny. The basis of EDP rests on arrested desires of African Americans to be a complete, engaged and self-directed member of humanity. Complete includes having the knowledge that you possess the necessary attributes associated with acceptance and value. Engaged is that you feel, understand and participate in the connectedness and interdependency we all have to the cosmos and each other. And self-direction in having individual and group agency, in our interactions, actions and cognitions. For these things to be in place the life world of an individual needs to be predictable, controllable, changeable, understandable, and realistic. EDP posits that the genesis of the pathology begins when a person attempts to rectify the false reality of an unpredictable, unchangeable and non-understandable life world. I do not mean that the individual is unable to comprehend the mechanics of the false life view; rather it is the very comprehension that is the catalyst for dissonance, and dissatisfaction with self and place. Therefore, upon the comprehension that the false life world is the reality that one must live in there are several courses that can be adopted to maintain sanity and effectiveness. One is to accept the falseness as reality. In this acceptance you are forced to allow for the African American to be cast in the Jim Crow mentality of a racist dominant society (Dysmorphic). The other is to disdain the falseness and construct a separate reality (morphological acceptance).

In the venue of EDP I will assert that the course taken is largely dependent upon the defense mechanisms available to the individual. As the young adult begins to learn about the society within which he/she lives they come to an understanding about how to best manipulate their environment. The child learns that specific categories of objects in the environment have various co-efficiencies of agency. The child learns that different people within a family have different power bases. That different people in the media, schools and communities have different levels of agency. It is during the formative years that the child/young adult has to come to terms with the attributes of the "race" category. The dilemma that presents itself for an African American young adult is if he/she accepts the dominant reality; it is by necessity an antipathy for one's position in time and space. Therefore, if the African American young adult chooses to be aligned with the dominant component of society, he/she will need to embrace that which is Euro and downplay that which is Afro. This individual is lacking the necessary defense mechanisms to refute assimilation. It becomes convenient for her/him to embrace this Eurocentric mentality within a society such as America that constructs methods that give the illusion of assimilation and inclusion. Of the many problematic facets of this dynamic is the inevitable realization that the African American can never become a member of the present dominant societal force. This slowly evolving epiphany manifests itself in the continual cognitions and behaviors of EDP. In this I mean, when confronted with the realization that one will always be the "other" a dysfunctional African American will persevere under the delusion of being a member of the dominant society through his or her "uniqueness." This is manifested through behaviors that aim to prove to the majority separation from negatively held stereotypes of one's ethnic group thereby displaying EDP.

In contrast another young adult faced with acknowledging the attributes of the "race" category may have the needed defense mechanisms to work through and accept her/his position in time and space. This young adult may choose to compete with the dominant society as an unassimilated individual. To this person that which is Euro is perceived as different from self. He/she understands that the present social structure is an illusion. S/he seeks clarity through reality testing and seeking to understand the heritage of African American peoples and their contribution to society's riches. S/he does not seek to be accepted into dominant social structures and it is questionable if s/he would want to be. Rather s/he demands the chance to compete on a fair playing ground. This person is able to ward off the cognitions and behaviors of EDP and usually is able to identify individuals displaying EDP tendencies. This strong morphic acceptance personality usually comes from living within communities with a large African American community, extended family and faith based connections and educational system that is mandated to acknowledge the African American experience.

Conclusion

In conclusion I have attempted to describe how the study of African Americans has effected my psychological state. I discussed the dysfunctional mental state that I was in prior to this awakening. Next I outlined a rudimentary sketch of EDP which is the manisfestation of being in this dysfunctional state. Then I looked at some of the factors that can lead one to being susceptible to EDP and lightly touch on factors that help ward off this thinking pattern. By way of intervention I believe we need to push for a renewal of African centered teaching in our k – 12 schools. Our community colleges need to include African American centered studies which show students that a major in African American disciplines is a viable degree. There is also a need for non-credit adult education classes offered in our communities on African studies dealing with families, youth, health, et cetera.

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Authentic Members: Uncovering Adult Children

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Abstract: Consciousing forms the reality. Who are the learners in some public urban high schools? Until recently, most of the research on this group of learners was not desegregated or simply treated as one of the analyses of school dropout problems. More currently, emerging research efforts have sought to explain these students who shoulder adult responsibilities by identifying tasks that can prevent them from becoming successful in school. These students present a unique set of issues which society has yet to acknowledge.

Introduction

There are adults attending some urban high schools, but they are invisible. These are the teenagers under the legal age to be called adults, yet they live as adults, making their own decisions, providing their major support and support for others who depend on them. They are caregivers, employees, housekeepers, protectors, and parents. They are also high school students left to tend their own educational survival. They make up part of the high school population that is intentionally ignored and excluded. Their quests for the American dream become American nightmares. They are often underserved and underrepresented in areas of influence, denied participation on society's main stages. Society views them as less "thans." These high school teenagers are disenfranchised of their childhood and forced to take on responsibilities traditionally assigned to adults. They may be of any race or ethnic group, living with parents or not, honor roll student or not, male or female, Bible-carrying or gangbanging. All considered by educators to be at risk of educational failure. I call them adult children.

Who are Adult Children?

Adult Children are persons under legal adult age who live as adults, make their own decisions, provide their major support, and support others who depend on them. They are teens whose everydayness consists of "adulting." In the language of sociologists, they are kids at-risk. Their needs have been neglected, so they have been forced to step-up and survive (Rossi and Stringfield, 1995). Jurkovic (1997) referred to them as "parentified" teens, parenting their children, their siblings, and in some cases their parents. In the words of one of my students, "I am my mother all the time." For many of these students, survival means more than staying warm in the winter and cool in the summer, providing sustenance and clothes to wear; it means avoiding mental or physical abuse, escaping death one more day. They are the students who carry knives and other weapons everyday to protect themselves as they race to school through forbidden neighborhoods. Or they are those who leave their children with a drunken relative or neighbor when further absences from school will result in their being dropped from day school. Their everyday experiences do not fit into the societal prescribed tiers of age-determined responsibilities and doings. That is, as children reach different ages, they live outside the "supposed" experiences of persons their age. For example, supposedly, by the age of one, children walk; at five, they read; at fifteen, they enter high school; at sixteen, they date; and at eighteen, they graduate from high school and become adults, -- self-supporting, responsible people. These are not necessarily the phases of experiences for adult children. Conditions and circumstances dictate when and what they do.

Adulting may objectify itself in different ways. One adult child may be responsible for providing and preparing family meals, sending younger siblings to school, caring for a disabled parent or aging grand parent, or mediating warfare between addicted parents. Others may be caring for their own children. They may work 20-30 hours a week to subsidize the family income. All are engaged in responsibilities beyond age appropriateness. They are not socialized to be children. Since adult children are expected to fulfill societal suggestions and assume pre-defined adult responsibilities, consider this: If it is intellectually safe to assume that, in the United States, after individuals reach a certain age and take on adult responsibilities they are adults (Ag+AR=Ad), then, it is logical and intellectually safe to conclude that if individuals do adult responsibilities but lack the lawful adult age, they are adult children. (If Ag+AR=Ad, then AR-Ag=AdC). According to Sherman Stanage, a philosopher (Class discussion, 1994), adult is an action verb. Individuals do adulting. When one is doing adulting, she or he is an adult.

Uncovering Adult Children

Adult children is a term I thought I coined. Later, I discovered through research that psychologists use the term to refer to someone who is an adult in age but because of psychiatric disabilities, think and behave as a child. But as adult educators, you know that the word is dubious. Conversely, we know that age is not the definitive identifier of an adult because there are thirty year old people who still live at home as dependent as any 15 year old, and there are 15 year old people who because of their circumstances assume the responsibilities traditionally assigned to adults.

I interact with adult children everyday in my job as dean of students. For twelve years, I have watched these students. They are often underserved and underrepresented in areas of influence, and denied participation on society's main stages. Equality of justice and opportunity, of protection against discrimination and oppression are not common components of their lived experiences. They are the "others." The students to whom the American dream is more of a nightmare. They are those whom the system intended to fail. I am fascinated with who they are and with what they posses that makes some of them successfully complete the high school process, despite their everydaynesses consisting of the duality of adulthood and childhood.

I have come to two conclusions: (1) the system in which they work contains two conflicting strains of "intentionality"—on the one hand, everyone should succeed, on the other some must fail; (2) some people whom the system "intended" to fail, don't; they succeed despite overwhelming odds. The latter fits the adult children in my research.

My research was designed to provide the canvas on which adult children who are succeeding in high school might paint their presence and their lifeworlds into the minds of the education community and concretize their place in education discourse. In addition, I wished to elicit strategies the participants (adult children) used to remain in school until graduation. The reader is reminded that adult children's decisions about their schooling cannot be isolated from other past and present everyday dictates on their lives. They are contextual individuals. All of their experiences in and out of school constitute their lifeworlds.

Participants' Stories

Rica, age 15, is the oldest of eight children. She is in her second year of high school and is employed at K-Mart.

> We just don't have enough money to last us, although I help my mother every time I get paid. She doesn't really know how to stretch the money like Granny. Then she comes asking me for a loan. I give it to her; I don't mind. I don't want her to use it for what she should not, like alcohol and drugs. I work hard for that check…. She drinks too much…. Everyday is too much. Don't you agree? I told her if I find out she is experimenting with drugs, I will find some place else to live…. She knows it's wrong to do stuff like that. She almost never has any money left over at the end of the month, and we run out of everything. But since I work, I keep a little to make sure my babies are OK." Big Man and Poop, my two littlest brothers, are mine. I am taking them from her; I told Ma wherever I go, I am taking them with me. They really are my babies. Granny and I raise them." I do every thing. I do the grocery, laundry, most of the cooking and shopping. She combs the girls hair at night most of the time when her friend is not there; otherwise, I have to do it the next morning. This makes me late for school. That's not all the time. When we get ready to leave for school, I remind them to be sure they eat and not to listen to bad things other students say about the food (Interview).

Anna, age 17, is the oldest of three children. She is in her third year of high school. They have lived in a shelter a large part of their lives. She works at a fast food restaurant.

> He (Dad) returned one morning appearing to have been beaten up. I found him on the porch. Dried blood was all over his shirt. His clothes were dirty. My sister and I had to drag him into the house. I went to use a phone to call 911 and our granny," When she [her mother] first left, I told my sisters not to tell anyone that we were alone. My Aunts and cousins did not know. I picked up the check and cashed it at J & B's…I paid the bills…I knew the link number, so food was no problem. We were fine. Just before Christmas, her sponsor reported her absence to DCFS and reported that she was no longer making meetings. The caseworker came to the house looking for her. We just insisted she had just gone to the store. The caseworker told us we would have to move if she did not contact them in a few days. We were scared. She did not return. After school, I go directly to work when I am scheduled (Interview).

Rocci age18 is the oldest of three children, the mother of one son. She is in her fourth year of high school. She works at a senior citizen nursing home.

> I get up at six o'clock every morning. I iron our clothes. I get myself ready for school, first. I fix breakfast, pack the diaper bag, and then I wake up the baby,

> dress and feed him. I have to hold him while I dress him because he cries in the mornings. He doesn't like to be up that early. I have to keep him from waking my mom and dad. He and I come to school. I drop him off at the Day Care Center, and I go to my classes. Sometimes, he cries when I drop him off at day care, so I stay there and try to get him to stop crying. That makes me late for my first period class, and that's why I got dropped from it. I was late six times. Sometimes we get a ride to school with Chuck. Most times we walk. I try to get a ride when I know we are going to be late otherwise. Everything I get, I have to work for it. I pay rent and help pay for the food (Interview).

Tacy, 16, is the second oldest of five children, and the mother of a one-year-old daughter. Tacy is in her third year of high school. She is employed at a fast food restaurant.

> I live alone with my one-year old daughter. I'm doing good, now. I have my daughter. I go to day school and night school two nights per week; I work. I do a night school on independent study, too. I have my own house, and I am only seventeen years old. I got it at sixteen. I think that is good for a person my age. I get the stamps. I have to work for whatever else we need. Every night, we get our baths. I give her a bath if her dad has not already bathed her when I pick her up after work. He keeps her after school everyday that I have to work. I take her over to his mom's. I pack our school bags: diapers and wipes, only on Mondays; and a change of clothing. I pack my book bag. In the mornings, I get up around 5:45 am, dress myself, feed and dress her. We walk half a block to the bus stop, catch the 7:10 bus. It lets us off on the corner of Cass and Collins streets. From there, we walk about two blocks to school. The walk is not bad until the weather is bad. The icy days are the worst. After school, I take her to her dad who watches her until I get off work. I work at Burger King from 4:00 until 9:00. I don't work overtime. I told them I had a child, and I go to school (Interview).

These students do what they must to balance their adult responsibilities and the limits placed on them by their age to meet the demands of a school system that expects them to fail.

Findings

The strategies are what the participants defined for themselves. The adult children discussed with me what they believed to be their strategies for succeeding in school: They are 1) adherence to the routine and 2) None. "I do what I have to do…I won't quit school" were the common refrains of each succeeding student. They explained to me how they structured their everyday experiences, and how they maneuvered within them.

The themes are what this researcher discerned: Intentionality; Goal Fixation; Belief in Education; Agency

Husserl - The term intentionality designates the active participation of the self in the structuring of our experiences. It is the fundamental structure of consciousness. Husserl argued that intentionality precedes object and activity. If I were to write a formula, it would read like this: I = O if A. Consciousness is a stream between two poles: subject and object. Objectivity is a function and project of the subject. This proposition means that the object of one's consciousness is something meant, constructed, projected, constituted; in short, intended by him or her. For example, all thinking is thinking about something. The same is true for action: All grasping is grasping toward something. In other words, intentionality – and eventually constitution - is the distinguishing mark of mental states. It concerns the directedness of these states to object, and the objects to which the action/intention is directed may or may not exist apart from its mental existence.

Goal fixation presents itself in the resolve with which the participants confront and live through obstacles that conflict with whom they conscious they are and obstacles that conflict with their horizons, possibilities - where they are and where they see themselves in the future. I am talking about not only the obstacles that are a natural part of an experience, but also those obstacles the system designed for those students who are not supposed to succeed.

The four participants gave their perceptions of the role of education, equating education with improving their lives. The lack of education was directly proportional to the families' lack of financial resources.

After looking at the three commonalties, I asked myself, is this the formula? Intentionality, the object, that projected *thing*, and activity was clear. Their fixation on that object was clearly presented. That they valued their projection was clear. Was there another *something* that played an important role in these adult children's succeedings?

Each of the adult children encountered teachers, counselors, co-workers, classmates, or parents who extended support to them, but grandmothers were agencies for each of them.

Conclusion

Using the notions of van Manen's and Husserl's phenomenology, this research presented another perspective of students at-risk of educational failure, and tried to make explicit the implicit meanings of adulting for four African American, female high school students. They recalled and related specific past and present lived experiences both in school and in their families, which conferred upon them the roles they played in their lifeworlds. They told of nurturing their children, their siblings, their parents and themselves; of their employment and unemployment; of their desires for education, and of their hopes for their future. They expressed displeasure with happenings within their families that cause them to live outside the traditional, age-appropriate societal"supposed to's,"' and they took extreme pride in their personal selves, expectations and transformings.

The adulting experiences transformed the participants into adult children. They lived their adulting roles, which led them to definite modes of existence, with an enlightened cognizance of their reality and a sense of self-directedness. Their actions were deliberate and directed towards their goals. An example of Husserl's intentionality – subject to object to doings –in the case of these adult children, focused doings—is evident in the descriptions of the lived experiences in their stories.

The adult children told their stories. Their voices can inform and transform educators, if we listen. Remember Freire: "Dialogue is a moment where humans meet to reflect on their reality as they make and remake it…. Through dialogue, reflecting together on what we know and don't know, we can then act critically to transform reality" (Shor and Freire, 1987, pp. 98-99). Freire (1987) continues, explaining that the teacher [educator, researcher] is no longer merely the one-who-teaches, but one who is [herself] himself taught in dialogue with students, who in turn, while being taught, also teaches. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow…. Men [sic] teach each other. (p. 67).

Educators should accept that adult children attend traditional urban public schools. They should be observant of all their students and become sensitized to teaching adult children as well as others nontraditional students whom our structure may be forcing out of education. They must learn to balance schools' rules of exclusion with common sense. For example, if an adult child goes to a teacher stating that she had to work until 1 AM, two hours overtime for the past three nights, or lose her job, and then she requests an additional day to write her assigned essay, the teacher should not respond from an attitude of, "The rule is the rule, without exception." Adult children can hardly comply each day with every policy sculpted around the lifeworlds of students who tend to come from homes of white picket fences, where lack of basic needs are nonexistent and where parents parent. Teachers and administrators must be cognizant of the lifeworlds of the students they serve, and make policies and embrace philosophies that enhance realistic opportunities for all. Education has as a legitimate goal, the empowering of learners, even in a high school. These students may be adults. If educators do not challenge schools to accept the existence and presence of adult children in public high schools and include them in the everydayness of empowerment through schooling, who will? If adult educators in higher education fail to train and to educate teachers-in-training to teach the entire community of learners, who will? If teachers-in-training are not provided experiences to allow them to become cognizant of the existence of lifeworld experiences that are different from their own, yet, as valuable as theirs, who will? I believe that valuing inclusion and realizing how structures can systematically exclude certain people is necessary to help educators appreciate learners who have and continue to live outside the societal "suppose to"s.

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What Good is Government? An Assessment of Government Official Impact on Black Businesses

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Abstract: This paper looks at the impact of government on black businesses by examining the policies in two cities. The perceptions of black business owners toward governmental efforts to aid entrepreneurship are examined.

Governmental Impacts on Black Entrepreneurship

The success that exists for blacks becoming and remaining entrepreneurs may be related to governmental institutions and their support. Eugene Bardach (1977) asserts that when the Small Business Administration (SBA) became more liberal in its orientation under the Johnson administration, minorities, including blacks, benefited.

And this finding is not restricted to the federal government. Several scholars have found that black businesses have benefited when there are black mayors and/or other black local officials in the area in which the African-American businesses are located (Bates, 1993a and 1993b; Bates and Williams, 1993). Bates and Williams (1993) posit that, under these conditions, black businesses have greater total sales, greater average sales and employment rates, and lower failure rates than their counterparts in urban areas without a black mayor.

Bates argues further that the emerging black businesses are: founded with relatively large investments; more likely to be headed by people with college educations; more likely to serve a racially diverse clientele; more likely to survive and create jobs than their small counterparts; and are selling increasingly to other businesses (including large corporations and, as previously stated, the federal government). The areas in which many of these new businesses are emerging are areas which have traditionally had little black participation, including: general construction, wholesaling, and skill-intensive service industries (e.g. finance and business services) (Bates, 1993b).

Government aid in the development of these larger black firms is needed, argues Bates, in spite of their relative success in comparison to smaller black businesses. This is because there are serious barriers to the development of these firms (Bates, 1993b).

One barrier is problems of capitalization. Bates asserts that this is the most serious hindrance to the creation, growth, and diversification of these black firms (1993b). Capitalization problems are the lack of personal wealth and discrimination by commercial banks; these problems have created a hurdle for existing as well as potential black business owners.

Another barrier to emerging black businesses is one of geographic considerations. Black inner-city communities are excluded from business development programs (Bates, 1993b). And in these communities, banks redline, local customers have little buying power, and better educated entrepreneurs are leaving; those black businesses who remain are usually smaller, headed by less educated owners, and have fewer employees and lower sales than black entrepreneurs who leave (Bates, 1993b). Bates asserts that it may be possible to gear minority business programs in a manner which will benefit inner-city communities, but posits that it will be both difficult and expensive (1993b).

Locales for the Study

This project is part of a larger one that examines black entrepreneurship in two Florida cities, Daytona Beach and Jacksonville. For this paper, the perceptions of black business owners toward governmental efforts to aid entrepreneurship are examined together. However, it is useful to investigate the politics and history of each city separately, in order to gain an appreciation of the contexts in which this study occurred.

Before examining these two cities (beginning with Daytona Beach), it is useful to define the concepts "Old South" and "New South." Button (1989) asserts that the northern counties of Florida (particularly the Panhandle) "are representative of the rural, agricultural Old South. With comparatively large numbers of blacks, this plantation region... is still very much like its Deep South neighbors of Alabama and Georgia (1989, p. 19)." While Jacksonville (and Duval County) is not technically in the Panhandle, it is in North Florida, and, for other reasons which will become apparent in the next section, I classify Jacksonville as an Old South city.

Daytona Beach is (and Button names this city specifically) a New South entity. Button describes the New South areas of Florida: "...most of the southern counties of peninsular Florida are typical of the more urbanized, fast-growing New South...this region... is relatively cosmopolitan, affluent, and economically diversified. As one would expect, racial fears and anxieties have not been a major part of the white mentality in the New South area" (1989, p. 19).

In the cities, there have been efforts to develop black business. For example, the Daytona Beach mayor's office has workshops that instruct black business owners (and others) on record-keeping (Daytona interview one, December, 1994). Additionally, the Community Development office assists black business owners in putting together loan application packages (Daytona interview two, December, 1994). These policies are in addition to the 10-percent plan the county has of awarding contracts to minorities and women (Button, 1989).

Jacksonville has several policies as well that are designed to help minority and black business development. The city has a policy that certifies vendors as members of minority groups who can do business with the city (Jacksonville city documents, 1994).

The Northside Businesses Services Center helps minority and black business development. Located in the predominantly African-American northern section of the city, this office has several functions. It holds workshops on (among other things) business start-up, securing government contracts, the minority certification process, accounting, and loan packaging (Jacksonville city documents, 1994).

Both cities have black Americans in local elected and appointed office. Although neither city has a black mayor, as did some of the cities in the Bates and Williams (1993) study, it is clear that blacks have influence in public office. Both cities have black city commissioners, and African Americans are in charge of many of the programs previously cited (Daytona Beach city documents, 1994; Jacksonville city documents, 1994).

In light of the findings by Bates and Williams (1993), that indicate black officials have a positive effect on black business development in several areas, this project was concerned with the extent that black entrepreneurs perceived black official influence. Four hundred and fifty surveys were sent out to black business owners in the two cities in September, 1994. After two follow-up mailings and visits to the cities to interview black business owners (these procedures are in accordance with Dillman, 1978), 102 surveys were completed.

Among the questions on the survey were two specifically addressing perceptions of black and white aid. One question asked: "how much have local black officials helped you with your business?" The answer choices were "a lot," "some," and "not at all." The second question was almost identical to the first, except for the substitution of "white" for "black." This question served as a basis of comparison.

Most of the respondents indicated that no black official help had been rendered to their businesses. While the 63 percent figure by Jacksonville respondents is slightly below the aggregate proportion of 68 percent, 81 percent of Daytona Beach respondents indicated that black officials had done nothing.

Most of the black capitalists also posited that nothing had been done by whites to help their businesses. Sixty-seven percent of the aggregate sample indicated that no white officials had been of assistance. Sixty percent of the Daytona Beach respondents asserted that no help had been given. Conversely, seventy percent of the Jacksonville respondents indicated that no help had been given.

Hypothesis Testing for Official Assistance

In order to assess independent influences on black entrepreneurial perceptions of official aid, hypothesis testing was executed. The hypotheses are listed below.

H1. There is a positive association between perceptions of help from black and white officials, and perceptions of agency help.

H2. There is a negative association between perceptions of help from black and white officials, and past business crises.

The independent variables of interest in each of these hypotheses are help from black officials, and help from white officials. In hypothesis 2, agency help is important, as well.

Following is a listing of variables that are used in analyzing the data collected during this project. In some cases, such as business site, variables that were originally categorical in nature were collapsed to make dichotomous variables. In other instances, variables that were originally ordinal in nature were collapsed to create dichotomous variables. An example is level of black official help. While it was formerly listed in Table 1 as "none," "some," or "a lot," for future purposes it has been collapsed into "none" and "some."

DICHOTOMOUS VARIABLES (low values on left, high values on the right in parentheses):

1. Education (less than a bachelor's degree/bachelor's or above)
   This is a demographic variable used as a control.
2. Gender (female/male) This is a demographic variable used as a control.
3. Business site (inner city/outer)
   This variable is used to determine whether or not business ownership in an inner-city location influences perception of assistance.
4. City (Daytona-less urbanized/Jacksonville-more urbanized)
   public officials are more responsive when representing urban areas (Feagin, 1972; Overby and Cosgrove, 1996; Whitby, 1985 and 1987).
5. Business type (traditional/emerging) This an independent variable.

6. Black help (none/some) This is an independent variable.
7. White help (none/some) This is an independent variable.
8. Residence (inner city neighborhood/non-inner city neighborhood).
   This is a demographic variable used as a control.
9. Government agency help (none/some) This is a dependent variable, as well as an independent variable in different multivariate tests.
10. Loan difficulty (easy/hard)

ORDINAL VARIABLES

1. Race climate (poor, fair, good) This is an independent variable used to determine if view of local race relations affects perception of assistance by local black or white officials.
2. Community race (mostly white, equal mix, mostly black)
This is an independent variable used to determine if the racial composition of the community of a respondent influences perception of assistance.

CONTINUOUS VARIABLES

3. Age This is an independent variable used as a control.

Results of Multivariate Analysis of Official Assistance

Respondent perception of business help by local black officials was the first issue examined. The method of analysis was logistic regression. The hypothesis states: there is a positive association between ownership of an emerging type of business and perception of help by black officials.

Table 1 Logistic Regression Model of Government Agency Help

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Age	-.026	.028
City	.505	.708
Education	1.027	.666
Gender	.906	.646
Business site	-.163	.564
Business type	1.141	.630
Black help	.925	.563
Race climate	-.187	.408
White help	1.977**	.644
Residence	-.107	.702
Comm race	-.162	.344
Constant	–7.995**	3.111
-2 Log likelihood	95.572	
% correctly predicted	65.17%	
Number of cases =	90	
Significance of model =	.005	

* significant at .05
** significant at .01
*** significant at .001

From table 1, it is clear that white help has an influence on agency help. Perhaps this is due to the fact that there were more white officials in office in both cities. It is possible that they were better connected to agencies than their African American counterparts.

The next issue to be addressed was the perception of business help by local white officials. The hypothesis states: there is a negative association between perceptions of help by black and white officials, and past business crises.

Table 2 Logistic Regression Model of Past Business Crisis

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Age	-.061	.033
City	1.035	.798
Education	.026	.734
Gender	-.388	.652
Govt help	.042	.697
Black help	-.1828**	.683
White help	1.227	.742
Business site	- .380	.613
Business type	-.328	.700
Loan difficulty	2.715**	.883
Race climate	.071	.441
Constant	-1.796	3.161
-2 Log likelihood	75.141	
% correctly predicted	76.00%	
Number of cases =	75	
Significance of model	.007	

* significant at .05
** significant at .01
*** significant at .001

From Table 2, it can be seen that those who felt they had been helped by black officials were less likely to have had business crises. Also, those who had had difficulty obtaining loans had experienced business crises.

Conclusions

One major conclusion from this work is that having local black and white officials in public office can be helpful to black business owners. These officials have differential impacts, depending upon the particular issue being addressed. An irony is that both black and white officials were seen as roughly equally derelict in helping black businesses.

The fact that most of the black business owners in this survey considered public officials useless in addressing their interests could have serious consequences. Even when officials attempt to assist the capitalists, such deep cynicism could discourage these intended program beneficiaries from participating in policy initiatives.

Obviously, this is a limited study. It only examines two cities, and unlike the ones cited by Bates and Williams (1993), there are no black mayors involved. However, it can be said that more study needs to be done on the apparent discrepancy between programs designed to help black entrepreneurs and the perceptions by these businesspersons that these programs (and black or white officials) are helping them in meaningful ways.

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Linking the South with the South in the NIU Adult Education Program

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Abstract: An analysis of the NIU adult education graduate program data as it relates to race, ethnic and national origin is provided. Twenty six years of struggle in a historic white university by students of the " souths" and their faculty "allies" to reach an authentic cultural diversity is the narrative; focus is on the perspectives and contributions of these African/Latino(a) Americans and other students of color in the program between 1975 -2000. Empirical data are provided to substantiate the social changes they shaped and the strength of their agency.

Internationalists divide the world into north and south, those who have and are for the most part Caucasian and those who have not and are for the most part persons of color. Within the United States there is a parallel north and south. This paper is about the "souths" located in the Northern Illinois University (NIU) Adult Education graduate program. Our presentation is informed by the African cultural tradition that our stories matter. So we tell two stories of how the "south" of the USA and the global "south" informs and strengthens graduate study at NIU. In so doing, we tell the stories of our journey, provide the empirical data that documents those stories, and identify the contexts that allow the "souths" to grow, tell their stories through their research, and effect change within adult education.

The Beginnings

In 1975, two African-Americans effected decisions that caused the newly conceived graduate program in Adult Continuing Education (ACE) at NIU to maintain an urban campus within the city. Dr. Robert Jack, Chair, and Scipio A. J. Colin, III, a member of the ACE Advisory Council, encouraged Robert Mason, an NIU professor, to look to the city as well as the DeKalb area in writing a proposal for Adult Basic Education (ABE) Service Centers. When NIU won the contract for both Region I (Chicago and suburbs) and Region II (the NIU rural base in western Illinois), the challenge was to serve the entire northern tier of the state. Even then, the western/northern suburbs wanted the Region I center located on their turf. Colin persuasively argued that the logical place for the center was the city and if we wanted to address urban concerns, we should locate the center physically in the city which had over half of the ABE teachers in the state. Accordingly, in 1976 the City Colleges of Chicago (CCC) through Dr. Peyton Hutchison provided space to NIU at the Chicago Urban Skills Institute (CUSI) located on the near south side at 39th and State. This was adjacent to Bronzeville where blacks of the "great migration" located; this was an African-American place. In 1976, the first courses enrolling 60 graduate students were initiated; by 1978 the Masters degree had been externalized to several areas, one of which was Chicago. To the present day, the partnership between CCC and the NIU/ACE program has been constant and productive (ACE Faculty, 1993).

In 1987, the Illinois State Board of Education awarded the Regional Service Center contract to a consortium of public schools in the northern suburbs that relocated the center to Skokie. The Chicago Service Center staff, Paul Ilsley, a professor, Donna Amstutz and Talmadge Guy, advanced graduate students, bounced back with the idea of a co-sponsored CCC/NIU Adult Education Research Consortium (AERC). It helped that Guy was a Vice-Provost in the CCC central office and that Vice-President Valerie Perkins of Malcolm X became an ally to secure this transfer. On April 18, 1989, Malcolm X President Milton Brown, CCC Chancellor Nevia Brady and NIU President John LaTourette signed and officially opened the consortium now located at Malcolm X College on the near west side of Chicago. The consortium was restructured in 1992 as a partnership with Malcolm X and this partnership has been in place for over ten years.

Leadership for the Chicago operation has been largely by advanced doctoral students of color with the exception of Donna Amstutz. Vanessa Sheared, Carmen Cruz and Valerie Perkins provided early leadership to implement field research within the CCC, establish staff development for CCC faculty, support the work of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center and establish two Masters cohorts. These leaders, in conjunction with campus student leaders, Margaret Shaw and Joye Knight, initiated the NIU African-American Adult Education Research Conferences as well as a similar annual conference at the national level (Cunningham, 1996; Shaw, 1991).

The Students

Although we have admitted and graduated African and Latino-Americans from 1975 forward, the first African-American, Ernest Gibson, and the first Latino, Elio DeArrudah, graduated from the doctoral program in 1983 and 1990 respectively. In Table 1 we have organized the doctoral graduates into five year periods and in Table 2 we have divided the data into two periods, 1976-1990 the early 15 years, and 1991-2000, the last ten years for comparison purposes.

TABLE 1
ACE doctoral graduates between the years 1975 to 2000

Years	Caucasian	International		African-American	Latino-American	Asian-American	Native-American	Total
		South	North					
Start-1980	23	0	1	0	0	0	0	24
1981-1985	41	0	2	2	0	0	0	45
1986-1990	48	7	1	4	1	0	0	61
1991-1999	64	10	2	26	6	2	0	110
1996-2000	59	10	3	19	6	2	1	100
Total N=	235	27	9	51	13	4	1	340
% =	69	8%	3%	15%	4%	1%	2%	100%

The data in Table 1 show that from 1975 through 2000 the ACE doctoral graduates were 69% Caucasian, 11% international, 15% African-American, 4% Latino and 1% or less Asian and Native American.

TABLE 2
Comparative Doctoral Graduates: 1976-1990 and 1991-2000

Years	Caucasian		International		African-American	Latino-American	Asian-American	Native-American	Total
	N	%	South	North					
First 15 years	112	86	7	4	6	1	0	0	130
Last 10 years	123	59	20	5	45	12	4	1	210
Total N=	235	69	27	9	51	13	4	1	340

In Table 2, we note that by collapsing the data into two time periods that Caucasians dropped from 86% to 59% of the total number of graduates, a drop of 17%.

To demonstrate the north vs. the south comparisons, we add Caucasian international students (N=9) to the U.S. Caucasian group and collapse all marginalized groups in the US with the international south in Table 3.

TABLE 3
NIU ACE North vs. South graduates by Early/Late Periods

1976-1990					1991-2000			
	US	International	Total N =	%	US	International	Total N =	%
Caucasian (North)	112	4	116	(91)	123	7	130	(61)
Persons of Color (South)	7	5	12	(9)	62	20	82	(39)
Total N =	119	9	128	(100)	185	27	212	(100)

In the first 15 years of the ACE program 91% of the graduates were Caucasian as compared to 61% in the last ten years. Persons of color graduating from the program had increased from 9% to 39%. Since the Chicago site has been in place since 1976 what has caused this change? We now turn to that question by examining the changing context of the program.

The Context

By any objective measure the NIU-ACE graduate program developed rapidly both in numbers and reputation. In 1973 there were about a dozen or so active masters students and a few doctoral majors; currently there are 230 matriculated doctoral and 72 masters students active in the program. Tenure track faculty increased from 6 in 1975 to 11.5 FTE in 2000. The faculty in 1988, invited Jorge Jeria and in 1993 LaVerne Gyant to join their all Caucasian group; two adjuncts, Marcelo Zwierzynski (1981-1983) and Jaya Gajanayake (1984-present) have provided diversity as well. But it was advanced doctoral students that provided the most diversity: David Castelanos, Elio DeArrudah, Richard Tapia, Elizabeth Peterson, Vanessa Sheared, Carmen Cruz have contributed by teaching classes and, in the case of Tapia and Sheared, organizing cohorts.

International Influence

Several forces came together in the late 80s to change the ACE program qualitatively. First, the program was internationalized. Though several international study trips had been organized to Canada, Finland, the USSR and England, it was the connection with the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) that moved the focus to the "south". Budd Hall, then Secretary- General of ICAE, invited Phyllis Cunningham to active participation first as a delegate to the General Assembly and then as a member of the ICAE program committee. Travel to the PRC, South America, Asia and Africa provided not only a broadening of perspective but also direct contact with international educators from the "South". Within ten years, eleven adult education professors from PRC, Korea, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Zambia, Nigeria, and Chile spent anywhere from one month to a year as visiting scholars. Gajanayake joined us permanently as an adjunct. Jorge Jeria, an ex-patriot of Chile, solidified a strong Latin American/NIU partnership: study abroad to Brazil and Chile; 24 Chilean adult educators studying each year for 6 weeks on campus; and a proposed NIU doctoral cohort in Chile (ACE Faculty, 1996).

A PRC program that brought over 25 masters students and several professors to the campus was established after an ICAE effort to engage with China occurred in 1984. Exchanges can be characterized qualitatively; the PRC, Chilean, and the Korean formal partnerships have been based on a two-way exchange in terms of people but more importantly in terms of knowledge. A conscious effort was made to bring knowledge from the "south" into the curriculum. All ACE faculty have engaged in one or more of the scholarly visits to PRC, Cuba, Korea or Chile. Two edited books, facilitated by NIU provided adult education authors from China and Africa to publish in the west. The presence of international students changed the dynamics within the classes and program. Several students, Huei Ching Lin, Jun Ping Wang, Yanzi Lin, Derek Mulenga, Kyonghi Kim, Wan Shu Ping, contributed nationally to a critique of Western dominance, the World Bank, and cultural imperialism in adult education. Kim, as a student, organized an international student pre-conference at the National Adult Education Research Conference in 1991 and later, as a Korean professor, organized a Korean/US research conference for knowledge exchange. Martin Kamwengo was active within the African-American committees, pushing for knowledge production via the annual African-American conference. Between 1980 and 2000, 36 international students received doctoral degrees; 27 were from the South (see Table 4).

TABLE 4
National Origin of International Students Graduated in ACE Program 1980-2000

South									**North**
Asia		**South America**		**Africa**		**Caribbean**		**NZ/ Europe/North America**	
PRC	4	Bolivia	1	Nigeria	2	Trinidad	3	Canada	4
India	2			Zambia	2	Guyana	1	Ireland	2
Malaysia	4			South Africa	1			Norway	1
Thailand	2			Ethiopia	1			Finland	1
Korea	2							New Zealand	1
Taiwan	2								
Total	16		1		6		4		9

Program Changes

The international students contribution to program diversity was complemented by the development of cohorts implemented by the new Department Chair, Glenn Smith, who came in 1985. The AERC and the NIU Lindeman Center started the Urban Education/Community Based Masters Cohort in 1987; in 1988, Smith organized the Alpha Doctoral Cohort of 29 teachers; the AERC staff also initiated a master's cohort in 1988 and the Beta Cohort (1989) in Pilsen primarily made up of Latinos. This was followed in 1991 by the AERC developing a Community College Leadership Cohort made up of 35 students, dominated numerically by African/Latino/Asian/Native Americans and directed by Amstutz and Sheared. Ninety persons applied to enter the program; 35 were selected.

The story of the cohorts is told elsewhere (Cunningham, 1991) but what is clear is that the cohorts had two major impacts: the admission of marginalized students increased dramatically and the completion rate of cohort members was significantly higher than non-cohort students. See Table 5.

TABLE 5
Cohorts and Status (Admitted from 1974 to 1995)*

		STATUS				
		Graduated	Active	Inactive, Drop Out	Withdrew	Total
	Count	23	0	4	0	27
Alpha	Expected Count	15.4	3.9	7.3	.3	27.0
	% within COHORT	85.2%	.0%	14.8%	.0%	100.0%
Community	Count	22	7	2	0	31
	Expected Count	17.7	4.5	8.4	.4	31.0

	% within COHORT	71.0%	22.6%	6.5%	.0%	100.0%
Omega	Count	16	2	8	0	26
	Expected Count	14.9	3.8	7.0	.3	26.0
	% within COHORT	61.5%	7.7%	30.8%	.0%	100.0%
No Cohort	Count	296	81	155	8	540
	Expected Count	308.9	77.9	146.3	6.9	540.0
	% within COHORT	54.8%	15.0%	28.7%	1.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	357	90	169	8	624
	Expected Count	357.0	90.0	169.0	8.0	624.0
	% of Total	57.2%	14.4%	27.1%	1.3%	100.0%

*Total number of graduates (357) differs from Table 1 and 2 (340) as 17 cohort members wrote dissertations oriented to public schools.

The result of chi-square test showed that there were significant differences in status by cohort, $\chi2(9, n=624) = 19.9, p < .05$. The graduation rates of Alpha, Community, and Omega were over expected rates. So, being a member of a cohort was a successful strategy to graduate. And, the length in achieving doctoral degrees of students who were in cohorts (M = 4.4 years, SD = 1.9 years) was shorter than the one of the student who did not participate in any cohort (M = 5.5 years, SD = 2.4 years). This difference was significant, $t(107) = -3.89, p < 0.001$, two-tailed.

European Hegemony Challenged

In 1989, there was clear evidence that African-American students were unaware of their numbers in the program. Any one student may have had classes with, or come to know 5 to 6 others when there were over 100 either matriculated or taking classes. Further, one student, Roudell Kirkwood, suggested that he wished there was a group that students finished with classes could attend to assist each other in completing dissertations. These factors initiated an annual Bar-b-que, a dissertation study group called "Live Poets" and the organizing of the black students by Margaret Shaw, Joy Knight and others to encourage group cohesiveness. The annual African-American/Latino Adult Education Research Conference, a newsletter *Umoja*, a directory for Africana scholars and a national conference to parallel the local one were developed by this group. Warren Braden introduced Cunningham to the National Black Studies conference where contact was made with and campus visits later arranged for Molefi Asante, Vivian Gordon, Jackelyn Wade and Nazir Conyers. These black scholars urged the faculty to work more closely with the NIU Black Studies Center; Conyers referred three students who were admitted to the program the next year.

This alliance with black scholars was strengthened when LaVerne Gyant was hired as Associate Director of the Center for Black Studies as she held tenure in the ACE faculty. This began a process of qualitatively altering the curriculum. Authors from Africana, Latino, Native American sources were added to the curriculum, as well as international authors from the South.

Popular education from Latin American, participatory research from Asia; popular theater from Africa became major themes in the curriculum; other curricular change came through additions such as feminist and critical pedagogy, the role of social movements in adult education and African-American histories and experiences in adult education.

The responses of international students illustrate why these program changes are necessary. Chen (1996) shapes the status of a foreign student as lonely islands surrounded by the ocean of host culture. Lack of English makes them nervous in speaking in classes, exhausts them in writing papers, and lays mines in their social relations. Lack of socio-cultural knowledge alienates foreign students from classes (Huxur, et al., 1996). They are not accustomed to open learning environments that need individual responses and impromptu conversation. In some cases, they are hesitant to express their opinions in class and want to circumvent any confrontation (Weaver, 1995).

International students were asked the question, "What are the serious problems in studying at NIU because you are an "international student?":

> Language and cultural recognition are two serious problems in my studying at NIU. I felt uncomfortable for not speaking and writing good (right) English and not knowing American culture well.
>
> My cultural context is different and often I felt strongly that my perspective was misunderstood or not understood. My particular knowledge and background was also not always understood by North American teachers, who may have thought it irrelevant and therefore did not acknowledge such culture-based insights as much as those of other foreigners.

Two unique problems were identified; language, and culture. They tried to solve those problems individually. A common coping strategy was establishing networks with Americans. Some international students successfully built up those networks with faculties and American friends. But, for some international students, it was difficult to do that because their social networks were limited to their own ethnic groups. The annual "ACE retreat" gave them chances to understand the curriculum and culture of the ACE department. An international alumnus noted:

> The co-curricular activities such as the gatherings at Taft campus Blackhawk (I think that's where we gathered) and the HRD Network were also an eye opener, especially the site visits.

Some international students voluntarily participated in the retreat committee. The participation resulted in improved understanding of the culture of America and the ACE department. Most recently, the retreat in 2000 provided a section for international students. This presented the feeling of insiders to international students. However, the curriculum and class activities seemed not to provide those presents for them. Some international students expressed their feeling as outsiders in classes and the curriculum like this:

> Few of the contents of the ACE curriculum reached outside of this country, for instance, concepts, settings, theorists, and adult educators. I think this is one of the major factors of the international students' silence in the classrooms. We were not familiar with the contents and the contexts even though we tried hard to get into it. The class was over before we got there.

Knowledge Producers

Any survey of the adult education literature gives evidence of how NIU scholars graduating from NIU are the major providers of knowledge focusing on marginalized groups: at least eleven graduates from the "south" published or edited book(s) or a monograph (Armstrong, Braden, Colin, Coleman, Easter, Griffin, Mulenga, Peterson, Salazar, Sentis, and Sheared). Knowledge dissemination has also occurred through publishing proceedings. Proceedings, when available from NIU and the National Pre-Conferences, have also been disseminated in ERIC or, on one occasion, a journal (Gyant & Southern, 2000). Seventeen graduates have become professors of adult education (Ahmed, Armstrong, Baptiste, Chapman, Colin, Guy, Howlett, Ibrahim, Kamwengo, Kim, Mulenga, Peterson, Rogers, Roosta, Shaw, Sheared, and Supapidhakul; another eleven are professors in other fields (Barringer, Bracy, Crawford, Dortsch, Ham Garth, Kamal, Lopez, Marcano, Mason, Salazar and Smallwood). These 28 professors represent 30% of the total (94) graduates from marginalized groups. This is a remarkable ratio that predicts future changes in getting the story told.

Conclusions

We have provided the story of the two "souths" in the first 25 years of the ACE graduate program. Much of our data concentrates on doctoral students because we have not been as conscientious in collecting master's level data. We do know that our student body can be authentically called diverse; we have shown that isolation and marginalization are common to the students of the "south"; we have further shown empirically that cohorts' graduation rates are higher than individualized study for all categories of students; and finally we have demonstrated that we have developed a culture of producing knowledge rather than simply consuming knowledge. This is our definition of authentic diversity.

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Caring

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Introduction

Caring is a basic value of mankind. It is a concept that concerns everyone. Caring is emerging as a significant concept for the nursing profession, and it is rapidly influencing nursing theory, nursing research, nursing practice, and nursing education. It is necessary for life and for survival. Caring is helping someone who is unable to help themselves. It is often viewed as an act of charity, gracious offering, compassion, and thoughtfulness. The purpose of this paper is to explore what caring is, how it is necessary when tending to the sick, and how the nursing profession implements caring into their practice.

While working as a registered nurse, I have noticed that some nurses and doctors have the tendency to overlook the fact the patients receiving care are human beings with feelings and needs. Being admitted to the hospital can be a frightening experience. It can cause fear of the unknown. Most people do not know what to expect. The person in the hospital needs to know that when they are being taken care of by competent individuals who care about them and their ability to have an improved state of health.

Review of Literature

Nursing is a caring profession. Caring is the essence of nursing (Smith-Campbell, B. 1999). Caring is a primary motivation of nursing. It consists of concern for the patient and it involves action. It is the choice of the nurse or the individual. It is giving of yourself, putting others before your own personal needs and being committed. Caring consists of accepting a person as is and being able to look beyond what a person may become. It promotes health and it emphasizes behaviors such as emotional support, teaching, and listening. Caring can lead to the discovery of self. Caring behaviors often stem from childhood, when a person grows up in a loving, nurturing, supportive environment. Caring behaviors are rooted and passed on to others.

Caring is one of the basic values of the nursing profession. It defines nursing and it helps to distinguish it from other professions. It is an intersubjective human process and it is the moral ideal of nursing. Caring is a characteristic that forms human survival and it is considered part of a human being. The outcome of caring may be determined by the patient's subjective experience. Caring means that a person's events, projects and things matter to people. Caring is essential, connecting people, places and things (Benner & Wrubel, 1989).

Caring has many diverse definitions. A few ways it may be defined are a mental distress, uncertainty, worry, grief, caution, heedfulness attention or solicitude, protection, attentiveness to details and conscientious. It occurs when there is a strong feeling or opinion. According to the nursing literature, caring is a nursing term that represents and describes all factors used by nurses to deliver health care to a client. I believe that caring is a commitment to be concerned about another individual and that it is a moral ideal that enhances human dignity of self and others involved.

The purpose of nursing is to help people increase harmony within their body, mind, and soul. Nursing consists of promoting and restoring health, preventing illness and caring for the sick. Caring as a human value is central to a new health care paradigm that calls for humanity and community consciousness (Davis, 1997).

The caring process will help a patient to achieve a high degree of self harmony to promote self knowledge, self healing, self reverence, self care and it can provide insight into the meaning of life. Caring is a fundamental component of holistic nursing practice.

The science of caring consists of applying the findings of science to achieve the ends determined by caring. The science of caring complements the science of curing. Caring denotes a nurse's responsiveness to a patient's problem. Through caring the nurse helps the patient to reach and maintain an optimum level of health. A nurse must be able to accept a person as is and be able to look beyond what a person may become. Caring relationships are the backbone of nursing practice (Lagan, 2000). The nurse relies on intuition and environmental clues in order to respond to a patient. Nurses have to impose their own will to care and love upon their own behaviors and not on others. Nurses must treat themselves with dignity before they can respect and care for others with dignity. Caring must be present with dignity when curing has failed, and death with dignity is the last result. A commitment to nursing is to care.

If caring is really the essence of nursing then it must be demonstrated. If caring is a central, dominant and unifying feature, then it must be relevant to practice and to the client and not merely an internalized feeling on the part of the nurse.

Themes of caring are humanism, maternal comfort measures, empathy and compassion. Humanism may be described as humanistic qualities. This includes a personal touch, showing concern, being there or spending time. As health care technology soars, health care providers must become conscious of the needs of patients in order to maintain a humanistic approach to care. Maternal comfort measures may be described as a safe and sound environment, and a mother's love. Empathy deals with understanding intimate feelings, thoughts and motives that are readily comprehended by another. This will allow for a trusting relationship. Nursing practice includes experiences the nurse encounters when taking care of people. The experiences may be of the patient, or of the nurse. They are necessary and help with the nurse patient relationship. Compassion is a deep feeling of sharing the suffering while giving support. If nurses did their job appropriately, but there were no signs of concern, care or support, this will cause the patient to feel that their care was unsatisfactory.

Caring incorporates several components. They are caring as a human trait, caring as a moral imperative, caring as an affect and caring as an interpersonal interaction (Morse, Bottorff, Neander &.Solberg, 1991). Caring is a human trait and also a part of human nature. This is necessary for survival. It is constant and long lasting. Caring is not doing just the mechanical part of nursing, but the human part. It is going out of your way for another human being in need.

Caring as a moral imperative is considered a moral virtue. This deals with maintaining dignity and the respect of clients as people. This perspective guides decision-making and a concern for the patients maintained.

Affect interaction deals with empathy, feeling, and concern for another. This requires the nurse to feel compassion and it enables the nurse to perform their job. The nursing care provided is defined according to the relation to the affect. This affect may differ with the kind of patient and the stage of the relationship.

Interpersonal intervention is an exchange characterized by respect and trust. This is a mutual involvement. An intimate relationship may develop and this could enhance the growth of the nurse and patient. The therapeutic perspectives involve the nurse's actions that meet the patient's needs. The nurse's actions are appropriate and the patient's needs and goals are met. The patient improves regardless of how the nurse feels.

It is very difficult to identify all of the components of caring to assist with clinical practice. It is also difficult to identify and relate all the definitions of caring with patient outcomes. Some definitions of caring lack clarity and this can cause confusion about the meaning.

Jean Watson is a nursing theorist who has proposed a philosophy and science of caring. Watson defines caring as moral ideas of nursing and the preservation of human dignity with a commitment to care (Allan, 1996). Watson believes that caring is central to nursing practice and that it is more than task-oriented behavior. She considers caring as actions.

According to Watson, caring is the most valuable attribute that nursing has to offer. The person is viewed as a human being to be valued, cared for, respected, nurtured, understood, and assisted. The environment can influence a person's values. Values help to determine how a person should behave. A caring attitude is transmitted by culture of the profession as a unique way of coping with its environment. A uniqueness of nursing consists of spiritual growth of the person involved in the interaction. This could cause a release of feelings, transcendence, and self-healing. Health consists of the overall physical, mental and social functioning. Nurses use the caring process to help the person attain a high level of self-harmony. Caring helps one to tolerate differences and to view others through their own perceptual systems rather than through one's own. Nurses should gain personally and the person being cared for should gain from the experience.

Conclusion

An attempt has been made to demonstrate that caring is a difficult and complicated process. Caring is not all there is to nursing but it seems to provide a foundation of moral value. It appears to be difficult to clarify the definitions of caring and relate them to the desired patient outcomes. Nurses play an important role in the illness state of the individual. With love and care it can become easier for some individuals to deal with their disease process. If the nurse has instilled a positive attribute by caring then it is possible for the nurse to assist the person into a wellness state and self-harmony.

As health care organizations encounter the challenges of being more responsive to the health needs of a changing society, the need to become more knowledgeable and understanding about caring and the cultural dynamics that influence values and beliefs with in the community is very important. The concept of caring needs to be studied more. I feel more research needs to be done into the subjective side of nursing so we can better understand how caring makes nursing special and different from other sciences. More research also needs to be done on how to maintain and keep caring involved in daily practices, and how to keep and maintain caring nurses.

Caring has existed in every society. Most individuals have come into contact with someone who has effectively demonstrated the actions of caring. Most individuals have given care to someone. Perceptions of the receiver of care often vary from the deliver of care. Being kind, gentle, understanding, sensitive, providing a safe comforting environment should always be present behind all of the paper work and the hustle of the delivery of care. We must always be constantly in tune to how the care provided is received. Caring is necessary for human dignity and survival.

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Community Empowerment Through Participatory Research: A Case Study of Citizen Participation in Town Hall Meeting Planning and Implementation

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Abstract: This paper describes a participatory research (PR) process and documents how this collaboration of regular citizens, community-based organizations, and government officials coalesced to raise environmental issues, analyze associated problems, and engage in collective actions in order to transform themselves and their communities.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe a participatory research (PR) process which occurred while planning a district-wide town hall meeting for the Seventh Congressional District (7th CD) where the Honorable Danny K. Davis is the Representative of Congress. The meeting, titled, "The People Speak," was convened by Congressman Davis at Malcolm X College on August 27-28, 1999. Davis invited all citizens of the 7th CD to participate in any and all aspects of the meeting. The town hall meeting itself consisted of approximately 20 subcommittees whose topics were identified as important by community representatives. The Congressman asked each subcommittee to summarize the findings and to present that information during the August 28 afternoon session where the Congressman and approximately 600 citizens of the district, elected officials, and others were present. He stated the purpose of the town hall meeting was to give all citizens of the district an opportunity to express their concerns, directly to their elected official, on issues the residents deemed important. However, in inviting people to speak, Davis provided an initiation into the PR process. Specifically, this paper discusses the participatory research activities of the Subcommittee on the Environment beginning with its first meeting and culminating with the presentation at the district-wide town hall meeting.

The 7th CD

The District is home to a wide variety of communities including the Chicago Loop; the affluent Gold Coast and suburban River Forest; and such public housing as the Robert Taylor Homes, Ida B. Wells, and Henry Horner Homes. It encompasses the west side of Chicago, which is still recovering from the riots that occurred following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. According to Congressman Davis, the 7th CD has in it twenty-two colleges and universities; twenty-two hospitals and medical centers (more than anywhere else in the United States); over 250 clinics; numerous museums including the Art Institute of Chicago, Museum of Natural History, and the Planetarium; and more public housing than anywhere else in the United States. The median household income for the District is $25,220, lower than the $30,056 household median income for the United States. Ethnically and racially, the District is composed of 166,333 Caucasians; 375,507 African Americans; 789 American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut;

18,266 Asian or Pacific Islanders; 22,082 Hispanics; and 11,144 Other Races (United States Census). It is from these ranks that everyday people coalesced to raise environmental issues, analyze associated problems, and engage in actions in order to transform themselves and their communities.

Participatory Research and Environmentalism

An increase in environmental awareness emerged as people from many diverse, geographical areas became concerned about the negative effects of pollution on human health and ecosystem development. Rachel Carson, an environmental scientist, began warning of the dangers of interjecting too much human manipulation in the balance between humans and other species on the earth. She cautioned against using chemicals to control the insect population because of the effect this activity would have on every other aspect of the environment, including water contamination, air pollution, and respiratory diseases. Carson is important to this discussion because it was her book, *Silent Spring*, which brought radical views of environmental management to the attention of scientists as well as non-scientists. Carson was an early believer in the importance of validating science with non-scientific methods. During this same period environmental disasters (such as Love Canal and Three Mile Island) were occurring which were so dangerous, they could not be ignored. Environmental grass-roots organizations emerged in direct response to inaction on the part of the government. These movements ultimately led to the establishment of a new federal organization, the United States Environmental Protection Agency (USEPA), and many state and local environmental organizations.

Before the 1970s, the voices usually heard to define, discuss, and offer solutions to environmental problems were only those of scientists, researchers, and other "experts." Moreover, believing only "hard science" can produce results that are politically neutral, knowledge gained through experience has been regarded as irrelevant, biased, and subjective (Merrifield, 1993). Nevertheless, groups with divergent interests such as Friends of the Parks; Open Lands; and the Westside Alliance for a Safe, and Toxic-free Environment have collaborated on problems common to all groups. Community-based organizations and other activists have been instrumental in identifying environmental hazards in their communities and in demanding the government work in partnership to address these problems. The USEPA, Region 5, appeared to listen when it adopted a new Operational Vision that states: "Together, we can solve environmental problems with communities in common-sense ways." (EPA Agenda for Action, 1998).

What these groups and others discovered is environmental issues have no boundaries. When incinerators burn hazardous wastes, the emissions travel not only into the blighted areas where they normally are located but also into affluent neighborhoods and into the lungs of innocent victims throughout the district. Thus, the dynamics of environmental issues represent an ecology which crosses socioeconomic, gender, and racial boundaries. Because this is an issue that affects every part of society, PR becomes an appropriate vehicle to bring together environmentalists in the very diverse 7th Congressional District. PR allows all people who are affected by problems to speak. It argues for the articulation of points of view by the dominated or subordinated, whether from gender, race, ethnicity, or other structures of subordination (Hall, 1993). It provides a method for those who are considered underprivileged and who lack formal education to speak on a topic where they have expertise based on first-hand experience. For these reasons, the Subcommittee on the Environment attracted grass-roots community environmental activists, residents who were either suffering ill effects of pollution or knew of others who were, and governmental workers interested in the topic. They all came together to identify environmental hazards in the district and to work collectively on sustainable solutions.

Significant was the participation of ad hoc community groups, experienced in the grass-roots health movement, who had been successful in identifying environmental health problems and confronting not only those who caused the problems but also governmental organizations responsible for enforcing existing federal laws. These groups made themselves known to Congressman Davis and demanded the district address problems endemic to urban areas in the district, such as public transportation, illegal dumping, noise and air pollution, and job creation as a result of Brownfield's redevelopment. They served as the official chairs of the subcommittee and facilitated the discussions.

The PR Process

Participatory research begins with a problem posed by affected individuals and organizations within a community. An outside agent might also serve as the catalyst to begin the process. Park (1993) asserts in practice the PR process of intervention is initiated by an external change agent, such as a community development agency, an extension service or university, or a church group. He believes these outside groups must insert themselves into the process in order to mobilize and to organize the community for investigation and action. In the town hall meeting planning process, Congressman Davis, in a sense, served as an outside agent. He has a long history of working at the grass-roots level and was an accepted, respected member of the 7th CD prior to being elected to the United States House of Representatives.

Gajanayake (1999) describes the following eight steps in the PR process: 1) Identification of a problem or need, 2) Reflection, 3) Investigation, 4) Analysis, 5) Integration, 6) Action Planning, 7) Implementation, and 8) Transformation. In planning the PR process, the Subcommittee concentrated its collective efforts in the following areas: Problem/Need Identification, Action Planning, and Implementation. The Subcommittee reached this decision based on the fact all involved already were environmental stewards. Members felt the limited time they had to plan the event should be spent on concrete recommendations they could affect over the next year and beyond. In addition, each individual and/or organization would continue working on other specific environmental issues. In essence, the Subcommittee would be working in all areas of PR, but some aspects of the process would be conducted through other groups.

Problem/Need Identification

The Subcommittee co-chairs decided they would facilitate the meetings. While no one protested, it was clear that everyone would be free to give opinions, learn from one another, and come up with solutions. With those clear ground rules, it no longer mattered who was the chair or facilitator. Everyone agreed the outcome was what was most important, and if necessary, anyone who felt a particular urge to facilitate could step up and take the lead.

One of the co-chairs asked each member to state why they were volunteering on this particular Subcommittee, given there were at least nineteen others from which they could have chosen. The following are some of the statements expressed which ultimately became many of the issues and concerns that were discussed during the roundtable meeting.

- Public transportation is a major concern of residents who use it to travel throughout the west side of Chicago. The Chicago Transit Authority on several occasions has stated its intention to close the rail system (called the Blue Line) which runs a route that encompasses the west side, suburbs, and several neighborhoods in between. This one issue mobilized several communities including numerous clergy, community-based organizations, the medical centers corridor, the University of Illinois at Chicago, Pilsen, Cicero, North Lawndale, and South Lawndale. These groups felt the City's attempt to close the Blue Line was in direct conflict with the presidential edict to decrease air pollution by using public transportation.
- Operation Silver Shovel - The Lawndale community felt it had been slighted during the hazardous waste clean up of illegal dumping in certain areas of the community. It wanted a plan for ensuring illegal dumping would be closely monitored in the future.
- Environmental awareness plan for the district - Some felt the Subcommittee needed to recommend an education program be developed as few were aware of the importance of knowing about environmental issues.
- Green spaces - Friends of the Parks and other groups were concerned open lands were not being considered for much-needed parks and other recreational areas. Instead, those vacant lots were being sold/given to developers to build additional housing in areas which already were over saturated.
- Difference among governmental agencies - People wanted to know which government agencies were responsible for monitoring environmental issues. This also included the role of community policing in the apprehension of illegal dumpers.
- What are Brownfields? Where are they? What types of problems do they cause?
- Recycling - Recommend establishing a Blue Bin Recycling project for the district.
- Promoting Bethel New Life's and other CBO's environmental projects and programs.
- Developing an environmental resources directory listing agencies, assistance, etc.
- Establishment community gardens.
- Promoting a bicycling program.

The Subcommittee's interests were as varied as their backgrounds. Some wanted to concentrate on geographical locations in the district which long had been neglected. These areas, therefore, were filled with garbage and hazard wastes which were leading to increased instances of asthma, lead poisoning, and overall urban decay. On the other hand, some felt the group should use the opportunity to surface companies who are primary polluters throughout the region. By using a public forum hosted by a United States Congressman, the Subcommittee could embarrass the companies and force Davis to take a position on this issue.

After weeks of discussion, The Subcommittee agreed to focus on accomplishing two goals:

- to increase overall community awareness of environmental issues and its impact on society; and
- to take on one environmental issue that can be accomplished in the Seventh

Congressional District.

Reaching consensus on the goals took weeks to accomplish. All members of the subcommittee had some knowledge of group facilitation, whether it was through working on different committees in their communities (e.g., block clubs, churches, schools) or through formal training. They instinctively recognized the importance of taking time to agree on all aspects of the program. As a result, dissension was non-existent. People concentrated on developing the plan. Another positive outcome of this exercise was the knowledge gained. As members passionately defended their positions on a particular item, others commented throughout they were not aware of those issues or that they were in any way related to environmental issues in their communities. New coalitions were established and the environmental network expanded.

Action Planning

The next step was to plan the actual environmental roundtable meeting which would take place during the district town hall meeting. The individual roundtable meetings would be conducted from 10 a.m.-12 noon. Each subcommittee would present its recommendations at the town hall meeting from 2:35 p.m.-4 p.m. The Subcommittee developed an outline. Each member volunteered for various activities throughout the roundtable session. The Environmental Roundtable would encompass the following activities.

- Have in place a resources table where environmental information would be made available.
- The co-chairs would facilitate the morning session.
- The Bethel New Life and USEPA representatives would record responses.
- The representative from Open Lands will make the presentation to the general assembly.
- Defining the "Environment" would be the initial topic to be discussed by all.
- Other members would record responses on the newsprint.
- The discussion would be centered on identifying environmental hazards/issues.
- Participants would decide the question, "Do we need to actively participate in protecting the environment" or "What do we need to do to protect the environment?" Also, "How do we in the Seventh Congressional District protect/improve our environment?"

The following ground rules were established.

- Be open to recommendations on how to improve our environmental conditions.
- Be respectful of others and listen to each other.
- Keep comments to two minutes. We all have something to contribute.
- Be courteous.
- Follow instructions as given by the facilitators.

Implementation

On the morning of the district-wide town hall meeting, Subcommittee members arrived at 7:30 a.m. to prepare the assigned classroom at Malcolm X College. Members placed a large banner in the classroom which said, "Welcome to the Environmental Roundtable" and placed balloons along the door. Members posted two flipcharts with paper at the front of the room to record comments and waited for participants to enter the room.

The roundtable meeting. One of the co-chairs welcomed everyone to the roundtable meeting. Participants were asked to introduce themselves, stating why they elected to attend this particular roundtable meeting as opposed to one of the other nineteen meetings. One stated he was very interested in any issues that might impact public transportation. Another said he worked for a CBO which assists other CBOs with developing technologies within their neighborhoods while another stated her organizing is monitoring incineration in the Austin neighborhood. Also present were governmental officials from the USEPA, staff from the University of Illinois at Chicago, and the chief executive officer of the Chicago Housing Authority. Some participants stated they intended to "stop in" as many roundtables as they could, so they only stayed for a short time. All participants reviewed the goals of the subcommittee and the ground rules. They were encouraged to add items to the ground rules as well as recommend changes/additions to any other aspects of the meeting.

The Subcommittee decided to change the plans to break out into groups because of uncertainty of the number of people who would stay for the entire meeting. Instead, everyone worked together to identify issues to be presented to the Congressman and the general assembly. Participants freely shared their ideas as they passed to one another a bowl of hard candies provided by the Subcommittee. In addition, participants continuously learned from one another. An example of this occurred when a community resident posed a question regarding blue bag recycling. A representative from the USEPA immediately provided not only an answer to the question but also the name and telephone number of the person responsible for the program at the City of Chicago. The USEPA official also exchanged telephone numbers with the residents and provided information regarding illegal dumping. Within the span of a few minutes, a new relationship between government and community was formed. The information provided will be shared within numerous communities long after the roundtable meeting ends.

After completing the data gathering phase, the co-facilitators asked participants to select the top three concerns which would be presented to the Congressman. Each participant was asked to select three items from the list of identified environmental hazards. The Roundtable continued through lunch. Participants were invited to stay to assist with developing the final presentation for the town hall meeting. The definition developed by the roundtable participants as well as the top three environmental concerns are as follows:

Seventh Congressional District, Definition of the Environment

The indoor and outdoor surroundings that connect our quality of life, mortality, morbidity, socio-economics, and culture that are our God-given right to live on God's earth and impact our longevity and all loving creatures.

Environmental Concerns

- Recognize lead awareness is a crucial issue in the district. Fully fund lead projects - this includes lead abatement teams (assessment and cleanup) and education programs for parents and children.
- Brownfield's projects need to be funded for inspections, cleanups, proper containment,

and disposal. Also provide incentives to businesses and developers for the same.

- Asthma continues to be a critical issue. Support research for causes, education for parents, children, and other members of affected communities, and health services for all.

In addition to the above items, the participants decided to provide the Congressman with all the issues surfaced in the roundtable meeting.

At the general assembly town hall meeting, the plans changed once again. The representative from Open Lands decided she did not want to give the presentation. Another participant volunteered. Subcommittee presentations began at approximately 2:40 p.m. in the auditorium of Malcolm X College. Subcommittees were asked to speak for no more than five minutes. The Subcommittee on the Environment was ninth of twenty presentations. During the briefing, the presenter named the Subcommittee members and all the people and organizations who developed the information being presented. The presenter ended the presentation by thanking the Congressman for providing this forum and for giving us an opportunity to learn and to share with one another using a participatory research approach.

Conclusion

Regular citizens were transformed by understanding what protecting the environment means. Prior to participating in the meeting, many stated they had never used the word "environment." During the meeting, they reflected and were able to identify, through their personal experiences, how they have been affected by hazardous wastes (lead and asbestos in homes, illegal dumping). While reflecting on the events that occurred during the planning and implementation stages, people stated they now feel empowered to make positive changes within their own homes and communities, and their knowledge and self-esteem were increased by participating.

Government representatives gained a new appreciation of what it means to participate in community-based environmental protection. Some stated prior to the roundtable meeting, they were unaware of the many diverse CBOs who are working in the environmental arena. During some portions of the meeting, there were quite a few governmental representatives present. Other members felt since the government has the ultimate legal responsibility for ensuring the environment is safe, they should have been present.

Participants discovered it is possible to conduct PR in the dual role of researcher and participant/facilitator as long as the researcher remembers to utilize good PR principles. The following are a few that were reflected upon as the Subcommittee planned the meeting.

- The knowledge produced is surfaced by the participants; therefore, it is useful to them.
- As a facilitator, make sure all participants are involved in the process.
- Develop a relationship with the participants; become an insider, one who is trusted.
- Community development can be strengthened through PR.
- As a researcher, you must insert yourself into the process. You cannot be a detached observer.

Finally, planning the environmental subcommittee meeting proved people can learn from one another and work together when they seize the opportunity to do so. This event was aptly titled "The People Speak." Participants surfaced the issues, increased their collective knowledge, presented their recommendations to those who can implement them at the policy level, and decided how best to make environmental changes in their communities. Everyone was pleased to have been part of the process.

Members of the Subcommittee on the Environment were transformed from individuals who believed they were suffering alone in cesspools of environmental hazards to collective groups, mobilized to affect positive change in their communities through political and social action. The subcommittee recognized the power inherent in creating their own knowledge and in taking actions people deem appropriate. Freire (1970) described this as people reaching a state of "conscientization" or of self-awareness through a process of collective action-reflection-action. Follow-up actions resulted in new coalitions among citizens across the district and within specific neighborhoods. The PR process demonstrated how community partnerships are formed with decision making and control shared among all those having a stake in the outcome of the research (Maclure and Bassey, 1991). When the question is asked, "Who benefits from the research?" The very clear answer will be the people of the 7th Congressional District.

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The Missing Piece: Evaluating Educational Software

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Abstract: Visit any Best Buy, Circuit City, or Computer Superstore and you'll be affronted by endless rows of educational software, each touting accolades from various educational organizations. Open any educational catalog and you'll be inundated with educational software advertisements proclaiming excellence and superiority: ***"98% of our software users are accepted at Harvard."*** How can we, as educators, determine if educational software will meet the distinctive needs of our students? Evaluating software is a process that takes much more effort than simply counting the number of awards publishing companies tack on boxes. Conducting a formative software assessment to evaluate your institution's distinctive needs can increase your confidence level when making software decisions.

The technological tsunami of recent years would lead some to believe that Computer-Assisted Instruction (CAI) is a recent development. However, the genesis of this learning method began almost a half century ago (Price, 1991). In 1954, B.F. Skinner's article, "The Science of Learning and Teaching, suggested that educational practices could be improved by using the same fundamental practices exhibited in his laboratory experiments with animals (Price). He defined learning as a "change in behavior" and believed the stimulus-response bond, which provided immediate reinforcements could incite learning. The behaviorist doctrines Skinner advocated served as the foundation for a new learning method, programmed instruction (PI). In PI, instruction is fragmented into digestible units, which are again segmented into prescribed instructional pieces called frames. Learners ingest the frames in linear, fixed gradations until mastery of a particular skill is demonstrated. This concept was used to develop rudimentary CAI programs (Price, 1991).

Twenty years later, the invention of the microcomputer revolutionized CAI. The microcomputer introduced an inexpensive, easy-to-use and, alas, diminutive computer unit to the American public (Price, 1991). Computers became all the rage and with them came extremist perspectives. Naysayers argued against introducing school children to regimented, automated learning environments while extreme optimist viewed CAI as the panacea for all educational shortcomings. Proponents theorized that CAI would make learning fun and ensure academic gains. The American public galvanized educational institutions to "get wired."

With the demand for software so high, the market became flooded with lackluster software that had no clear educational benefits and often contained technical errors. Educators soon realized the importance of being technically savvy and developing methods of assessing software (Price, 1991). Several organizations began to publish their evaluations and recommended which software schools ought to purchase.

Now sophisticated technological designs make technical errors a thing of the past. Today's software sizzles with ingenuity; but glitzy graphics and sensational sounds don't automatically indicate educational value. Several educators have noted educational software's inability to facilitate learning ((Suomala and Shaughnessy, 2000; Reinking, 1998). Evaluating educational software is still as essential as it was in the eighties, yet many bypass conducting this vitally important analysis. Slick advertisements which include stamps of approval from 'leading educators' may lead some to believe that a sound evaluation has already been conducted. These endorsements may be an indication of quality but nothing compares to a customized software evaluation.

Evaluating software is a challenging endeavor, but bear in mind a proficient, formative assessment ensures that selected software augments classroom instruction, addresses target population's needs, and provides competent technical support. Omitting this step can be a costly gamble. The four fundamental issues that should be addressed in software evaluation are: needs analysis, program design, instructional design, and management/technical support characteristics.

Needs Analysis

A needs analysis identifies the target population and the instructional objectives. The target population refers to individuals, or groups for whom CAI will be provided (Sloane, Myers Gordon, Gunn, and Mickelsen, 1989). A focused examination of the target population should include the students' initial skills ability level, previous areas of instruction, and purposes for taking the course.

Students' gender and racial background should also be taken into consideration. Several studies have noted significant differences between the way males and females interact with technology (Caftori, 1994; Gipson, 1997). Alternative approaches to the traditional technological paradigm have been introduced to foster women's interest in technology, which significantly lags behind men's. Other studies have noted the disparity of technological access for African-American students and have stressed the importance of integrating good CAI within the traditional pedagogical paradigm. Gender and racial considerations are important; however, one should firmly guard against these issues being the sole determinant in a needs analysis. Students' backgrounds are one facet of a holistic needs examination.

The second part of a needs analysis is inventorying instructional objectives. According to Sloane et al. (1989), instructional objectives specify the skills and/or information students must know to achieve minimal mastery of a given area of study. The course objectives should be clearly identified. For example, an instructional objective for a Constitution class may state, "Students will be able to identify the Bill of Rights." Clearly stating objective will make it easier to ascertain which software package complements classroom instruction.

Instructional Design

The essence of exceptional software is its' instructional design. Johann Goethe likened architecture to 'frozen music.' Likewise, well-designed software should exhibit fine, polished orchestration.

Philosophical Underpinnings

Two schools of philosophy predominately influence instructional design: behaviorism and constructivism. Behaviorism perceives learners as passive participants in the learning process. The learner is presented with some material to which she must respond. Correct responses receive positive feedback and the learner may proceed to the next level (which builds upon the previous lesson) until mastery of a concept is demonstrated. Incorrect responses will incur negative feedback, thus prompting the learner to rethink her response (Squires and McDougal, 1994). This stimulus-response bond serves as the foundation for drill and practice and tutorial programs. These programs fragment content into digestible units and present it to the learner in fixed, linear processes (Oliva, 1992).

Constructivists do not perceive the learner as an empty receptacle. Instead the learner is recognized as a unique individual that brings distinct perspectives, previously acquired knowledge, and worldliness to a new learning experience. These attributes should be acknowledged and cultivated within an experiential learning environment (Oliva, 1992). Constructivist-themed software is open-ended and anchored in real-life visual situations. These software programs (simulations and problem-solving programs) encourage group interaction, enrich higher-order thinking skills, and permit flexibility (Squires and McDougal, 1994).

The intent is not to advocate or condemn either philosophy. What's important is that software exhibits a philosophical base that is evident throughout the entire program. Software programs lacking this quality will be of little use in educational settings. To determine which learning theory is most befitting, the evaluator should consider the institution's philosophy and, more importantly, which software programs correlate with the needs of the target population. Drill-and-practice software may limit advanced students, while problem-solving software may overwhelm students missing a strong basic skills foundation. Some software companies have introduced blended programs that feature behaviorist and constructivist principles (i.e. tutorial/problem-solving software, simulation/drill-and-practice). Hybrid software programs are ideal for target populations whose grade levels greatly vary.

Structure

In addition to establishing a philosophical framework, well-designed software exhibits balance and structure. The scope of the program refers to the range of skills being taught. Determine if the software adequately addresses content area. If the scope is too narrow supplemental instruction may be needed during classroom time. If it is too broad, it may transcend students' ability level; thus leading to frustration. Secondly, lessons should be sequential and cumulative. Instruction should progress in a logical manner and previously taught skills should be used and fortified throughout the program. Lastly, determine if adequate feedback is provided. Students need to know if they are on the right track. Correct responses should receive celebratory commendation. Suggestions, examples, and support should be offered to students experiencing difficulties (Sloane et al., 1989).

Program Design

A solid instructional design is of little importance if program execution is faulty. Good software runs smoothly, makes prompt transitions, and values aesthetics. To evaluate program design, examine the software from a student's point of view. Students' need user-friendly, interactive, engaging, programs that don't crash because of minute input errors. Graphics and text should be artistically organized not exaggerated clutter that interferes with learning. Sounds should reinforce correct responses. Caftori's study noted how junior high students' attention was diverted from the intended educational objective because the sound effects were too entertaining Caftori (1994). Graphics and sounds should facilitate, not detract from, the learning process.

Management/Technical Support Features

Management

Many CAI programs feature Computer Managed Instruction (CMI) systems. CMI maintains students' records, gauges progress, tracks and records attendance, and generates various reports (grade reports, administration reports, annual reports, etc.). Some CMI programs perform diagnostic testing and propose which lessons a student should complete based upon her test results (Sharp, 1999). Needless to say, this program saves valuable time and ensures grading accuracy. A good CMI system should not be difficult to establish. If a program is tedious and cumbersome it will be of little use.

Technical Support

Technical support is invaluable. Before purchasing software, negotiate a technical support package that includes a teacher-training workshop. After spending a nice amount of money, an institution was shocked to discover that a teacher-training workshop would cost an additional $3,000! Be clear on what the purchase price includes. Some companies begin assessing a technical assistance fee once the warranty expires. If possible, extend the length of time technical support will be provided at no additional cost. Also, ask if technical assistance is available on the company's website.

Conclusion

Initially, evaluating educational software is a trying procedure. Addressing these five general factors will provide you with a basic assessment. Undoubtedly, this is only the tip of the iceberg. Consider establishing a software assessment team comprised of coworkers and students to further customize your institution's assessment process. This way CAI truly becomes a valuable addition to the learning environment. Computers are here to stay; it is in our best interest and our students' best interest to design technology assessment programs that will meet our specific needs.

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Is There Room for Self-Directed Learning in Adult Education?

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Introduction

The field of adult education has progressively become dogmatic in its theoretical perspective because the theories imply that they are applicable to all groups of people. The notion that individual empowerment is linked to education is prevalent throughout much of the adult education literature.

In a recent study conducted by this author using the personal narrative approach, *Tejana* (Mexican origin Texan women) farmworkers in the Midwest demonstrated that current adult education theories and practices are not applicable to them without modifications. Moreover, these stories further illuminated that anyone could be empowered regardless of the schooling of that individual. However, this is not to imply that this is what one would like to promote.

This paper has several purposes. The first purpose is to present an overview of the history of *Tejana* women in the Midwest. The second purpose is to explore how *Tejanas* have defined self-directed learning and how adult education can play an important role in the lives of Mexican origin people.

The history of *Tejana* women in the Midwest narrates an array of people with a strong work ethic, an appreciation for their culture and language, and strategic methods for learning. Traditionally, *Tejana* women have been situated at the lowest of the economic and social ladder (Blea, 1995, p.8). Members of our society are embedded with the ideology that education is the vehicle of social and economic mobility. I argue that the very nature of migratory work has not allowed for many *Tejanas* to parlay success in the traditional educational system. Yet, how have many *Tejanas* made the transition from the migrant stream to factories and other semi-skilled labor?

Traditional education has served the general population well. Adult education has also been instrumental in addressing the needs of non-traditional learners. Formal, informal, and non-formal educational settings have been at the forefront. However, in applauding this progress, the needs of many *Tejana* women are not being met by any of these educational traditions. This is of particular importance to the field of adult education because of the influx of immigrants from Latin American countries and the high dropout rates of Hispanics in the United States.

A recent study pointed out that "migrant workers have the highest dropout rate, larger than any other major subgroup, in the United States, and a very low rate of participation in adult basic education programs. Moreover, how is it possible for us to work in a community without feeling the *spirit* of the culture that has been there for many years, without trying to understand the soul of the culture? We cannot interfere in this culture. Without understanding the soul of the culture we just invade the culture.

The people of whom I speak about in this paper in regards to access to public education and the *spirit* of the culture are Tejana (Texan) women in the Midwest.

A model was derived from the data which showed that there was a "lack of congruency between the home and school cultures" of migrant farmworkers. "School is seen as a meaningless and painful place, incongruent with home lifestyle and values." The author further notes that this view was consistent with past educational experiences of these farmworkers. Loida Velazquez came to the conclusion that "participation in adult basic education programs that are not grounded on knowledge of the migrant population and their cultural norms brings about the same response (negative perceptions and dropping out)."

The author seems to be suggesting that the educational system has failed this population and that changes must occur within this system if this population is to be served.

While I am not a *Tejana* and I have never been a migrant farmworker, I have always marveled at the tenacity of these women. Many of them were and continue to be censured from a formal education due to the transitory nature of their employment. Moreover, there are many *Tejana* with very little schooling and some without any schooling who have managed to escape the factories of machines. Here there are better working conditions and hope for a more stable lifestyle.

It would seem incomprehensible to now be into the twenty-first century without (at the very least) identifying and implementing strategies that may increase the educational participation of an ethnic group that has traditionally been neglected and ignored.

Historical Overview

Tejanos(as) are descendants of the residents who were promised citizenship and land ownership by the United States with the creation of the *Treaty of Gudalupe Hidalgo of 1848* (Acuña, 1988, p.18). Next to the Native American Indians, *Tejanos*(as) (by virtue of extension) and Mexicans are the only other groups to have such a treaty (ibid., p. 21). However, as in the case of the Native American, these treaties, for the most part, have not been honored by the United States. For example, neither the Native American Indians, Mexicans nor the *Tejanos(as)* have been successful in retrieving the land that was once rightfully theirs.

Niocolás Kanellos notes that "between 1848 and 1940, Mexican-descent individuals were the predominant and, in some areas, the only group of Hispanics in the United States. Many of these individuals began to migrate to other parts of the United States, especially in the Midwest (Kanellos, 1993,p. 299).

Rosaura Sancez (1994, p. 23) further notes that "the population of Mexican origin living in the Southwest in 1848 was not one of all landless peasants and wage laborers. A socio-economic and political structure existed with a small segment of the Mexican population in control and in possession of vast extensions of land. These ruling *Californios, Hispanos* from New Mexico and *Tejanos*, who allied with the incoming dominant Anglo population, were the first Chicano assimilationists.

Rodolfo Acuña, author of *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, Adds that "this assimilation process did not last long...*Tejanos[as]* continue to feel more affinity racially and culturally with Mexicans south of the Rio Bravo than with aggressive North Americans who have labeled them as greasers" (Acuña, 1998, p. 43). Subsequently, *Tejanos(as)* have been denied the opportunity to obtain property, to exert political power, and to otherwise preserve their rights within American society (ibid.,p.49).

This discrimination has continued into the educational arena. Even though the Hispanic population in the United States is vast, it is traditionally under-represented in educational institutions (Abalos,1991,p.9).

James D. Cockcroft, author of *Latinos in the Struggle for Equal Education*, states that during the 1900's, it was not unusual for half of the Mexican children to be absent during cotton-picking time or that at least one out of five Mexican children did not attend any school at all (1995,p. 12).

In the 1920's, a disturbing number of Hispanics in Texas, approximately 75 percent of them, withdrew from school before reaching the secondary grades. As Cockcroft points out, even in 1944, "nearly half the Mexican children in Texas still received no school education."

Kanellos further notes that "withdrawal rates were still high in the 1960's and 1970's, ranging anywhere from 40 percent to 80 percent, depending on local and state circumstances (Kanellos, 1993, p. 306). Ironically, this lack of access to public schools was not consistent with the original goals of the United States' educational system, which was to enlist in the assimilation and acculturation process of diverse groups. Seemingly, *Tejanos(as)* were not valued enough to be included in this process.

To the *Tejana*, migration meant being in school for about three months *out* of the year and working the rest of the time. There was little time to go to school. For many *Tejanas*, their migrant status determined their educational opportunities. Hence, it is easy to see how any attempt to participate in the educational system was plagued with many obstacles which made participation difficult.

Tejanas were targets of *de facto* discrimination, inadequate facilities, teacher indifference, and they were also victims of a cycle of educational deprivation whose effects are the legacy of the educational experiences of many *Tejana/Chicana* women today.

Discussion

According to Stephen Brookfield, "Self-directed learning focuses on the process by which adults take control of their own learning, in particular how they set their own learning goals, locate appropriate resources, decided on which learning methods to use and evaluate their progress" (Tuinjman, 1995).

The majority of the women interviewed completed at most, 4.5 years of formal schooling and as some pointed out, were usually not taught in English. Rather, they were expected to speak it. In most of the cases, the women were forced to leave school for economic reasons. I contend that the well-being of *la familia* (the family) came first, therefore, it stands to reason that neither the parents or these women were cognitive of the economic implications and a lack of formal schooling would have later in life. The immediate monetary survival was at the forefront of any decisions made about their schooling.

Many of the women stated that school was to learn the basics. However, once they were taken out of school, many engaged in self-directed learning as well as recognize their innate intelligence. For example, one woman never had any formal schooling and Spanish was her first language. Yet she learned enough English by listening to others and practicing to such a degree that she was able to be an interpreter at her work. This woman also mentioned that her parents taught her to read and write; manage their home; manage their money; and how to prepare for retirement.

Conclusion

Donna D. Amstute states that "women have used story telling and narratives as strategies for evoking repressed voices in an effort to recover and redefine their roles (Hill-Collins, 1990). The personal narratives approach was utilized for this very reason. The personal narratives of the *Tejana* women interviewed not only filled a void in United States history, but the following are findings that could be useful in the study of their pedagogy which in turn be useful to the broader field of adult education, perhaps impact current educational policies, and enhance the education of migrant farmworkers.

There were three factors identified as crucial and always constant in the decision-making process of *Tejana* women and educational participation. These factors are *La famila*, the culture, and social location. This population must be able to participate with their own voices throughout their education. Educators and program developers must take into account the *Tejana* women their social location, their culture, and their family when designing programs if these programs are to be of benefit to this population.

There is also a need to explore learning physical environments outside of the traditional classroom. Migratory work by its very nature, includes hard labor and long hours. If the field of adult education is to embrace this population, then it must contend with the work conditions. Hence, any program developed must be flexible enough to contend with the mental and physical issues.

Many of the women echoed the importance of obtaining an education and the fact that if the youth of today did not get one, it was by choice. They were quick to point out that because of their struggles, they did not have the option of staying in school. As a consequence, they suffered a lot. While some have claimed that this population does not value education, I argue that they do to the extent that they are economically able to do so. Indeed, they may value education more than mainstream who often takes education for granted. Unfortunately, this "value" is not always expressed in their actions due to the severe economic burden the entire family must assume.

In conclusion, "one of the most principled promises America makes is that of access to a free public education. It is a difficult promise to fulfill when teachers speak English and some students do not, but U.S. law requires school systems to provide access and equity for all students, including those who speak little or no English" (Lau V. Nichols, 1974, Balow, 1999).

As a national trend, there are too many policy decision-makers who are "linguistic and culturally" challenged. Coupled with lack of knowledge about the history of this under-served population only assures that the dire conditions of migrant farmworkers will remain the same. Language and literacy barriers and financial situations must be considered if adult education is to serve this population. Is there room for self-directed learning in Adult Education? Absolutely. The real question is how can adult educators assist the self-directed learning process as defined by the participant?

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In Our Own Images:
Using Photography for Empowerment Through Critical Literacy

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Abstract: The use of learner-generated photography is an empowering approach to eliciting learners' worldviews and facilitating communication for beginning English learners. By taking their own photographs they are able to represent how they see themselves and present their images as they would like others to view them. This operates in sharp contrast to viewing images which others have selected *for* them or *of* them. In this study, learners' photographs were used as the center of a workplace ESL program. Focusing on the shared experiences of work and family that the participants captured on film and with their words helped to overcome the linguistic and cultural barriers faced by second language learners. By talking and writing about their photos, learners began to make improvements in their English skills as well as their working conditions and lives outside work.

Introduction

The media depictions and other visual images we encounter in our daily live have a powerful, yet almost subliminal impact on how we form impressions of ourselves and others. People of color, women, and other oppressed groups are often stereotyped, belittled, or ignored by mainstream media images (Lester, 1996). The cumulative effect of this imagery can influence the ways that we think about and relate to one another. In order to counteract these negative media portrayals, learners can become aware of imagery discrepancies and offer positive alternatives. By taking up cameras to create realistic images of themselves and their lives, learners become empowered to communicate, engage in critical reflection, and bring about changes in their worlds. This paper explores the uses of learner-generated photography at the center of a participatory workplace English as Second Language (ESL) program employing a critical approach to literacy. In this project (Gallo, 2001), autodocumentary photographs were used as a basis for generating themes and facilitating communication among a group of primarily Latino ESL students.

In traditional photography, dominant social forces are reproduced in the act of photographing those who do not have the means to represent themselves (Solomon-Godeau, 1991). To counteract these forces, the autodocumentary photography approach provides access to the technology and techniques needed to create self-representative images. This method has been proven particularly useful cross-culturally where language alone falls short in conveying meanings. Creating photographic representations which call attention to discrimination and other social issues which adversely impact less powerful groups and creating real, positive images to counteract the superficial pictures so often created by journalists and advertisers can be empowering learning processes.

This paper describes some of the uses and outcomes of an ESL curriculum based on learner-generated photography. It was an empirical study based on critical ethnographic case study research. Twenty-three immigrant workers from Colombia, Mexico, Vietnam, and the former Yugoslavia participated in this 26-week project and data were collected through interviews, fieldnotes, photographs, and document analysis. Analysis was based upon identification of themes and triangulated through multiple sources.

Theoretical Perspective

Most conventional approaches to workplace literacy promote passive acceptance of knowledge by workers which are conducive to producing compliant workers and maintaining the status quo. Such literacy programs use grammar skill-based or competency-based approaches to instruction which learners do not find relevant to their own life experiences. These techniques seldom engage learners or serve their needs. In contrast, a critical approach embracing Freirean theories encourages learners to understand and actively make positive changes in their workplaces and communities through their language learning. This research draws upon the theoretical perspectives of Paulo Freire (Freire, 1973/1993), Elsa Auerbach (Auerbach, 1996), Hannah Fingeret (Fingeret & Drennon, 1997) and other educators who have studied and advocated critical and participatory approaches to language learning.

In a critical approach to literacy, learning is based upon generative themes created by learners. When Paulo Freire used artist's drawings to represent these themes, there were already preconceived and limiting notions in the artists' minds in which a concept such as "work" was represented by people making pottery. In contrast, when learners are able to create their own images, they can depict their own lives and perceptions without being limited by an outsider's interpretation of their themes. In this way, through their photographs learners could portray "work" in a variety of meaningful ways such as images of themselves caring for children, cooking, studying, or driving a truck. This extra freedom in choosing their own images releases learners from the constraints of others' perceptions of their concerns and interests.

Reflecting upon the images they have created allows learners to perceive and name their world as it is, and as it might become. Parallel to the deconstruction and creation of new visual images is the critical literacy perspective of deconstructing and creating the word and the world. Theories of critical literacy call upon readers to name the world for themselves, and build their own cultural constructs. In the same ways that our language use expresses who we are, our creation of images allows us to define and portray ourselves as we would like to be viewed.

Project Description

At the beginning of this workplace ESL program, learners were given disposable cameras and asked to photograph the important aspects of their lives. I introduced the topic of photography by showing photos of people working in factories and also shared photos of my own family, and myself at work. The initial response to using the cameras was excitement and enthusiasm as they set out to create images which allowed them to communicate visually across language barriers. The photos taken depicted the students at work and home in a variety of candid and posed situations.

The selection of subjects was quite interesting and often surprising. There were sharp contrasts between the dark, dirty images taken at work and the proud and well-dressed shots of people in their homes. One woman only took photos of the framed photographs of her family hanging on the walls of her home. Another man took only photos of his drive home from work through the windshield. Some people took pictures of their family members sleeping, as this was the only time they were able to see their spouses and children after work during the week. These workers also often depicted inequities in their workplace such as the hot and unsanitary working conditions in the factory contrasted with the comfortable environment of the office workers at the same plant.

The discussions which ensued from these images were thoughtful and surprising. Learners began to use their photos for their own purposes: to initiate discussion about workplace inequalities and health and safety issues, sharing with family, friends and co-workers, documenting important aspects of their lives, engaging in English conversations during taking and viewing of photos, and publishing their stories on the class web page and in booklets. The stories written about the pictures were sometimes narrative descriptions about interactions while taking the photo, pointing out problems or inequities at work, descriptions of personal possessions, family and friends, or their children's education. The excitement generated by speaking and writing about topics which were important to them led to increased communication as their desire to be heard grew greater than their inhibitions about their imperfect English skills.

Sharing their photos led the students to generate the themes that they then expanded through discussions and writing exercises. We often began class with discussions of pictures displayed on overhead transparencies. I wrote key vocabulary words offered by the class on the image using a second transparency over the photograph. Through this process, we generated a vocabulary list of commonly used work words. We later created picture dictionaries, using photocopies of the pictures and writing appropriate vocabulary words next to each image. One woman wrote of these photo-sharing experiences, "I learn many new words in the pictures".

Our first writing exercise was for each class member to select one of his or her own photos and write a description of it. I collected these short essays and typed them, making minimal spelling and grammatical changes in order to keep the students' own style intact. Next I photocopied all of the stories with their pictures and made them into booklets for everyone. They took turns reading their own stories about their jobs, families and cultural experiences from the booklets and we discussed them at length. These booklets were also displayed on the company bulletin board for all employees to read, and several workers from the plant and office stopped by our classroom to remark how much they liked the essays and pictures. Learners also brought these books home to share with their families and friends. It was heartening for learners to see their own language progress as stories became longer and more descriptive in each book.

Taking photos of others allowed learners to initiate and control English language conversations. The camera also seemed to act as a passport to explore the unknown, whether it be walking through off-bounds areas such as the front entrance to the company or striking up conversations with strangers. The act of photographing gave confidence and license to embark upon these atypical experiences within the safety of their newfound role as photographers. As a result of these classes, workers gained the confidence to make suggestions, go to the personnel office and discuss work situations, and speak up about their opinions for improving the company. Finding their voices in this way allowed these learners to take control and responsibility for their jobs. As a result of workers' suggestions many safety and environmental improvements were implemented in the plant.

Empowering Outcomes

Bringing to light practices and situations which can easily go unnoticed and unvoiced brings a sense of clarity and strength to the image makers who can critically reflect on their two-dimensional photos, name them, and envision ways of improving them. The workers who participated in this research found numerous ways of using photography for purposes of empowerment and transformation. These included interacting with subjects during photo taking, sharing personal stories, sharing concerns, learning about images, creating personal documentation, writing about photos and publishing their writings and photos. Through these activities they were able to gain the language skills they needed to help their children with homework, write checks, participate in parent teacher conferences, make appointments, and discuss problems at work.

As Sontag (1977) has described, by looking at the frozen images they had created they were able to slow down their fast-paced lives to observe their situations critically and to discuss them. Issues such as inequities, education, and work conditions were considered and questioned. Complex feelings such as learners' resistance to assimilation in which they might lose part of themselves to the American culture, versus their desire to acculturate by adding aspects of the culture which were valuable to them such as learning English, were visually illustrated by their photographs. Discussing the images of their homes which showed signs of cultural retention such as decorations and clothing from their homelands along with signs of Americanization such as their computers and entertainment systems provided a way to reflect upon their personal values and life choices.

These immigrant and refugee workers with varying degrees of English proficiency were united through their common work experiences and struggles with language learning as they used their new English skills to make changes in their workplace and lives. There were five key outcomes of worker empowerment observed during this project. Learner-generated photography was central to workers' experiences of critical reflection through viewing and writing about their images, communication improvements in confidence and English skills, community building inside of the workplace by sharing stories with coworkers, creation of knowledge through writing and publishing their works on the web and in booklets, and change making through improvements in work conditions and outside interests.

Conclusion

In this project, learner-generated photography was used to increase English skills and bring about improvements in working conditions for these ESL students while building a sense of individual and community empowerment. However, the implications of this research move beyond creating effective ESL and literacy programs to the possibilities of serving as the base for many community and participatory education programs. Wang (1995) has used autodocumentary photography to bring about awareness and improvements in community health issues, Hubbard (1991) for homeless youth, and Barndt (1982) for immigrant women. Visual approaches to education can begin to create new ways of learning and organizing for traditionally oppressed groups. The potent combination of the words and photographic images created by learners to express themselves can help their viewpoints to be seen and their voices to be heard by a wider audience.

This project has shown that it is possible to change the educational practices that would maintain existing power structures in the workplace and instead to use literacy education as an opportunity for meaningful self-expression and transformation in the workplace. As educators, we must strive to foster awareness of the disparities in educational opportunities which are provided for different groups, and seek to eliminate these inequities. For poor and working class students, deference to authority, compliance, obedience, and punctuality are the values stressed in their training, rather than creativity, leadership, and thinking skills. Additionally, the exclusion of those less conversant in the discourse styles of the dominant culture from education privileges under the guise of "standards" is another gatekeeping technique used to limit employment possibilities. These practices are used to track people into dead-end jobs based on their class, race, gender or ethnicity, instead of opening doors and providing opportunities. We cannot remain silent as these commonplace practices continue. Instead, adult educators must endeavor "to direct their practice towards the emancipation of learners rather than their renewed servitude" (Bouchard, 1998, p. 138). By raising our voices as well as encouraging our students to raise their own, we can denounce the unfairness of such policies and call for their restructuring.

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Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the Lavalas Movement

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Abstract: This paper examines some of the metaphors and proverbs used by Jean Bertrand Aristide in his dialog with the Haitian people. The purpose of this paper is to uncover the political and civic education that took place in the Lavalas movement.

The Lavalas movement is an indigenous bottom up popular movement. It occurred in Haiti in the 1970s during the final years of the repressive Duvalier regime. The Lavalas movement voted Jean Bertrand Aristide as president both in 1990 and 2000.

The questions addressed in this paper are: 1) How well did the metaphors and proverbs used by Jean Bertrand Aristide reflect the socio-political realities of the Haitian community? 2) Are metaphors and proverbs efficient tools in the educational process of the oppressed and subjugated Haitian masses? The metaphors and proverbs representing the core of the data are collected from Proverbs of the People, a chapter in the 1994 James Ridgeway book, *The Haiti Files-Decoding the Crisis.*

My theoretical framework is based on the concepts of Cognitive Praxis and Movement Intellectual as framed by Eyerman and Jamison (1991). Additionally, my theoretical framework is based in the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) on metaphors.

Cognitive Praxis and Movement Intellectual

The connections between adult education, social movements and the generation of knowledge have long been recognized. Welton (1993) argues that social movements are important "learning sites." Holford (1995) entertains the notion that adult education is itself a movement. These claims only established the connections between learning and social movements without articulating the conceptual base for their being. The earlier attempts at conceptualizing social movements were not very sympathetic towards them. They were constructed as socially destructive forces. The collective behavior theorists interpreted social movements as pathological, irrational responses of individuals and groups to rapid social changes; the Resource Mobilization theorists still regard social movements as resulting from conflicts but legitimize their rationality. A socially constructive view of social movements was developed in 1991 by Eyerman and Jamison. These researchers proposed that social movements no longer be seen as only a challenge to establish power but also as a constructive force, a fundamental determinant of human knowledge. Eyerman and Jamison (1991) conceptualized social movements as "cognitive praxis." The following attributes were assigned to cognitive praxis: 1) the very process by which a movement is formed and establishes its identity; 2) movements are not static; they evolve through other cognitive processes; 3) movements generate new knowledge through social encounters, within movements, between movements, between movements and their antagonists. Eyerman and Jamison conceptualize education within social movements as a tri-dimensional process with a cosmological dimension which defines the movement mission, philosophy, utopia, a technological dimension which represents the issues actors rally around, an organizational dimension which imparts the movement its identity, maintains its internal cohesiveness, and shapes its rapport with the outer world. The organizational dimension is fundamental to the educative process. The educational process rests on the hands of the intellectual which is the primary engine of the movement. Eyerman and Jamison insist that there is no organization without the intellectual, a view previously advanced by Gramsci in 1971. The movement intellectual is analogous to Gramsci's organic intellectual, and Giroux and Aronowitz's transformative intellectual.

Departing from Eyerman and Jamison perspectives, I will analyze the relationship of Jean Bertrand Aristide with the Lavalas movement. I propose to characterize Jean Bertrand Aristide as a movement intellectual. I will defend my proposition argument by sketching and presenting a biographical study of Jean Bertrand Aristide against an analytical background of the political economy of Haiti.

Who is Aristide?

The most recent description of the Haitian leader is by Catherine Orenstein in the January, 2001 issue of the Progressive. According to Orenstein, Aristide is "simultaneously one of the most beloved and controversial faces in Haiti." She portrays Aristide as a small, diminutive man, who appears in one of his photographs as "smiling and looking out through a pair of large gold-rimmed glasses. It is a particularly unintimidating photo: one of his eyes appears slightly larger than the other, and his face flashes when the light of the afternoon sun hits the plastic." " In person, Aristide is smaller and softer spoken than one might imagine. He is a surprisingly unassuming figure for a 'firebrand priest' as he was often called in American newspapers" (p.21).

Twenty years ago Jean Bertrand Aristide was a Salesian priest living among the poor. He first rose to power in 1980. Then he was described as the most visible of the young progressive priests and nuns who had been organizing peasants and slum dwellers since the late 1970's. Amy Wilentz (1994) states that "Aristide preached a brand of liberation theology that pleased no one except his extended congregation: the poor in the slums, the peasants who heard him on Radio Haiti-Inter and Radio Soleil, a scattering of young jobless lower middle class youth with no future in the country and a few liberals among the Haitian bourgeoisie and the exile community" (p.). Aristide had the reputation of being Haiti's foremost biblical scholar. Like the other liberation theologians in Latin America, he used Jesus' teachings to raise the political consciousness of the poor. He pictured the struggle of the Haitian people for freedom similar to the struggle of Jesus for the liberation of Jerusalem.

How does Aristide articulate with the Lavalas movement? To what extent are his rhetorical style and discourse inspired by the Haitian reality? I believe that an understanding of Jean Bertrand Aristide's rhetorical style is not possible without reconstructing the scene and relocating the actors that comprise the Haitian universe. In this part of my exposé, I will locate Haiti within the concert of nations and conduct an analysis of its educational achievement against the background of the role played by the Haitian elite and various foreign interests.

What is Haiti?

What is Haiti? In the words of Robert Cornevin (1994), a French analyst, Haiti is "a pays ecorché par le deboisement et dechiré par la politique." According to Rogers Worthington, a columnist of the Chicago Tribune, Haiti is the poorest country of the hemisphere with an annual income per capita of 70%, and a treasury deficit of 81.6 million. A country the size of the state of Maryland, Haiti has a population of seven million people. Seventy per cent of the population resides in the rural areas. Port-au-prince, the capital of Haiti, counts nearly 2 million people. However, in spite of a high maternal and infant mortality rate, census experts predict a doubling of the population within thirty years.

On the educational front, the data are even gloomier. Haiti is plagued with an illiteracy rate of 85 percent. An anaphalbetization program, Mission alpha, conducted by the Catholic Mission was interrupted by order of the Episcopal authorities because of alleged infiltration by political militants. The expulsion of religious leaders (Catholic teachers) who were in charge of ninety per cent of secondary schools caused a sharp drop in the level of education. In 1988, Haiti counted 421 private secondary schools against 34 public schools. Only 55 percent of children between age 12 and 17 attended school in 1990 (Cornevin, 1993).

The problem of education is further complicated by a language barrier. The official language, also the language of the elite, is French. While all Haitians speak Creole, only 5 percent of Haitian speak and understand French, the remaining 90 percent of Haitians representing the mass, the peasants speak Creole exclusively. Because French is the language of social promotion only a few Haitians access the political and economic hierarchy. That hierarchy is what Ridgeway in the Haiti Files describes as an oligarchy.

Ridgeway in Haiti Files claims that for two centuries, a small group of wealthy mostly mulatto families have wielded enormous power in Haiti, working in cooperation with dictators and juntas and controlling much of the economic life of the nation. "The wealth in Haiti is distributed in accordance with a strict class system determined by economic power and family position and to a lesser extent by skin color. The Haitian social structure comprises:

a) a Haute Bourgeoisie ensconced at the top of society. It is a mostly mulatto oligarchy representing less than one percent of the population but controlling forty-four per cent of the total wealth of the population. They arrived in the country about one hundred years ago as descendants of the early traders from France, Poland, Germany, and the Middle East. They have used the army, the Tonton Macoutes and the overall power of the state to maintain their wealth. In politics, they possess clout in the American government throughout lobbies and legal counsel.

b) an Urban Petite Bourgeosie made up of physicians, professionals, intellectuals, and shop keepers. They are black and mulattoes. They have roots abroad. They are strongly nationalist and enthusiastically embrace change. Their fortune is tied to the growth of the middle class which utilizes their services and buys their products. Many members of this sector took exile during the reign of the Duvaliers and now live in the Diaspora especially in the United States.

c) a black, Urban Wage-Earning middle class which is afraid of change because it means a loss of jobs.

d) a mass populace whose concern is daily survival. They regard change as the only way of getting out of their abject poverty. Their popular support helped elect president Aristide in 1990 and in 2000.

e) an Army which cuts across the class system and has been able to maintain a certain degree of internal cohesion and authority throughout a patronage system. They are not totally opposed to change since their members are themselves treated as servants by the oligarchy and looked down upon by their compatriots.

This is the world that Jean Bertrand Aristide inherited when he was catapulted to power in February, 1991. This is also the spell he had to break up. On the one hand, he had to face a well organized and powerful coalition of entrenched enemies: an army that hated him for directly naming sergeants, lieutenants, and colonels in his sermons; an American diplomacy that despised him for holding the United States and its economic system responsible for most of Haiti's woes; a church hierarchy that feared him because of the loyal dedication of his followers, the adulated attention he drew from the press of foreign journalists, and the bourgeoisie that he accused of criminal neglect, corruption, and insensitivity toward their fellow Haitians. On the other hand, the mass of the people that adored him and called him by the surname "Titid." People who could not write, who could not read, who stood ready to forget one hundred and ninety years of previous lies and deceptions entrusted his words and followed him blindly.

Aristide: Metaphors as Discourse

What were the words of Jean Bertrand Aristide? It goes without any question that Jean Bertrand Aristide understands the power of elocution and that he artfully picked his words to connect with his people. Jean Bertrand Aristide made extensive use of metaphors and proverbs to stimulate and develop the imagination of his people. The word metaphor takes its roots in the language. *Meta* means *trans*, or "across." *Phor* means *ferry*. Lakoff and Johnson extend the power of metaphor beyond the imagination, the poetical. They claim that metaphors are part of everyday speech and that they affect the ways in which we perceive, think, and act.

> Metaphors are basically devices for understanding and have little to do with objective reality, if there is such a thing. The fact that our conceptual system is inherently metaphorical, the fact that we understand the world, think and function in metaphorical terms, and the fact that metaphors cannot merely be understood but can be meaningful and true as well-these facts all suggest that an adequate account of meaning and truth can only be based on understanding (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.184).

Metaphors appear in practically most of Jean Bertrand Aristide's speeches. He used them to further his political and economic agenda, to communicate his mood and express the depth of his dedication to his followers. Lakoff and Johnson also claim that political debate typically is concerned with issues of freedom and economics and that political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms.

Most of Aristide's metaphors are encapsulated around the concepts of *justice, transparency, participation* which represent the slogan of the Lavalas movement (Aristide and Wargny, 1993). The term Lavalas is *sue generis* and describes the converging of multiple small torrential streams into an enormous flooding cascade whose speed and strength purify by destroying all obstacles along its trajectory. The same meaning of destructive force is again carried into the term *dechoukaj*. Literally speaking, *dechoukaj* signifies brutally unearthing a tree by its roots. In practice, it is the removal of someone from office by popular manifesto. *Justice, transparency, participation* are themes that recur regularly in Jean Bertrand Aristide's rhetoric. What follows illustrates some common metaphors and proverbs:

You sel, nou feb	Alone we are weak
Ansam nou fo	Alone we are strong
Ansam, Ansam nou se Lavalas	Together, together, we are the flood

Jean Bertrand Aristide's efforts at building a participatory democracy are reflected in the following slogans:

- *Pep vanyan se pep ki oragnize*
  A strong people is an organized people
- *Men nan la men, an nou sove peyi nou-an*
  Hand in hand, let's save our country
- *Men ampil chay pa lou*
  With many hands, the burden is not heavy

I have conducted an analysis of the Lavalas movement trying to uncover what type of new knowledge was generated. Jean Bertrand Aristide fits the image of the movement intellectual using metaphors and proverbs to connect with his people and march with them toward democracy.

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Christianity from the Perspective of African Peoples

Garth Gittens

Abstract: Contemporary thinkers of African decent, and sympathetic observers of the plight of African peoples at the hands of Europe's exploiters, find it difficult to reconcile the Christian religion and the liberation of the African mind. Historical evidences indicate that the educative devises of white missionaries in conquered lands, Africa by no means excluded, sought to inculcate in to the psyche of the indigenous peoples a philosophy of white supremacy. Deneberg argues that along side the Christian plan of salvation, educators in South Africa ensured that white supremacy permeated every institution of learning (Deneberg 1991). Bennett in his History of Black America describes the fate of African slaves in the sub-human conditions of the middle passage and the perils of plantation life. Christianity played an intrinsic part in this sadistic barbarianism:

The slave trade was a bishop sitting on an ivory chair on a wharf in theCongo and extending his fat hand in the wholesale baptism of slaveswho rowed beneath him, going in chains to the slave ships . . . The slave trade was a pious captain holding prayer services twice a day and writing
later the famous hymn, How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds " (Bennett 1987).

Christians were not just passive onlookers, but active participants in cruelty to slaves. Respected giants of white Christendom - like William Penn, and Rev. George Whitefield, - without apology, counted among their merchandise African slaves. Bennett describes the colonies as various degrees of hell for the slaves but by far the worst degree of hell that a slave could inherit is to fall into the hands of a British-Protestant colonizer. Blyden makes the point that because of the physical, mental and social pressures, under which the Africans received the influences of Christianity, their development was necessarily partial, one-sided, cramped and abnormal. Their ideas and aspirations could be expressed only in conformity with the views and tastes of those who held rule over them. If in fact, Christianity had been used as an instrument of subliminal control; a proponent of African dehumanization; and a mechanism used to justify and perpetuate a caucasianized world stage, can the tenets of this faith also be used as a liberating force not just for the African from slavery but the African mind and spirit from the impact of slavery? This paper will examine the deliberate posture of white Christendom as theologians and educators developed anemic arguments aimed at justifying the conspicuous evils of white supremacy. It will also examine black reinterpretation and counter-arguments of resistance from the black church and black, liberation preachers.

The Historic Context of White Imagery

From an historic perspective the doctrines and practice of white Christianity appears to have concentrated efforts to undermine the soul-relevance of conquered peoples, particularly the conquered African. The effects of this undermining glares from the not too distant past and is perpetuated in the life posture of some contemporary African people - the tendency of black people to hate their blackness is a reflection of the binding and blinding effect of undermining soul-relevance . Blyden (1994) captures this trend as he examines the preaching styles of his African contemporaries at the close of the nineteenth century:

> It was not long since to hear an illiterate Negro in New York entreat the Deity to extend his lily white hands and bless the waiting congregation. Or to hear a black man expound the verse 1 John 3:2 "we shall be like him" - Brethren, imagine a beautiful white man with blue eyes and rosy cheeks, and flaxen hair, we shall be like him.

Blyden posits that slave owners and slave traders justified their wickedness with the preposterous claim of bringing salvation to heathens - the argument defeats itself; the epitome of a 'heathen life-style' must be the enslavement fellow humans, stripping them of self respect and soul relevance. Freire argues that the oppressor and the oppressed exist in antithetical balance both equally dehumanized (Freire 1985). In line with Freire's position, countless generations of Huguenots and Puritans were educated to believe that God endowed them with the right to enslave the African forever. Simultaneously, the conquered Africans were educated to believe that their birth color, and hair texture had some how demoted them to a less-than-human and cursed existence. Blyden quotes the Right Rev. William Meade, Bishop of the diocese of Virginia who wrote a manual for of devotionals for Masters and slaves. To the masters and mistresses Meade is quoted as writing:

> Some He [God] hath made masters and mistresses for taking care of their children . . . Some He hath made servants and slaves to assist and work for their masters and mistresses . . .others He hath made ministers and teachers to instruct the rest, to show them what they ought to do, and to put them in mind of their several duties. (Blyden 1994).

To the slaves Meade is quoted as writing:

> Almighty God hath been pleased to make you slaves here, and to give you nothing but labor and poverty in this world, which you are obliged to submit to, it is His will that it be so your bodies, you know are not your own; they are at the disposal of those you belong to. (Blyden 1994).

Clergy of differing denominational allegiances, though they may have established irreconcilable dissidence on other theological positions when it came to place of African slaves they were in harmony. Blyden quotes another catechism in the form of questions and answers written for the use of slaves from another denominational source:

> Q Is it right for the servant to run away, or is it right to harbor a run away?
> A No
> Q What did the apostle Paul to Onesimus, who was a run away? Did he harbor him or send him back to his master?
> A He sent him back to his master.

Slaves were taught that to disobey their masters was to yield to the temptation of the devil. General Hammond in his Letters to Clarkson openly opposes Jefferson's statement "All men are born free and equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights". Hammond contends: "I firmly believe that American slavery is not only not a sin, but especially commanded by God himself through Moses, and approved by Christ through His apostles" (Blyden 1994). A preponderance of literature leaves little reason to wonder why some would resist the suggestion that Christianity can encourage any kind of liberation, particularly liberation of the African mind. The clandestine yoke of servitude enforced by the white Christian agenda proposed no hope of freedom for the African slave. Oppression in this context is not limited to the obvious forced enslavement of a people but the consistent erosion that people's self worth, the imprisonment of the mind. Christianity portrayed, as the right and white religion was the instrument used to impose mental imprisonment on the African mind as well as the minds of other conquered peoples around the world. Sadly, when the legal system of slavery was abolished the saga of mental slavery channeled under the guise of legal white Christianity continued.

Black Reinterpretation of Christian Meaning

The liberating tenet of African religions sets itself in stark contrast to the fettering philosophies of that Christian doctrine aimed at controlling the minds of the once free Africans. Hicks rightly notes that religion did not come to Africa with the European invasion. In fact contemporary black scholars citing Biblical names and places, events like the experience of the Ethiopian Eunuch, the historical church fathers and original parchments present convincing arguments that Christianity was in Africa before it was claimed as the official European Religion. Hicks quotes Herskovitz and DuBois in tracing the relevance of religion in Africa prior to European visitation: "religion for the African consumed the whole life" (Hicks 1977. p.26). Malidoma Patrice Somé (1993) describes the liberating power of ritual in his encounter with Spirituality in his native home in Burkina Faso. Somé permits us to accompany him on a journey of spiritual meaning through his eyes, not merely as an academician/philosopher but as a medicine man in the Dagara culture. Speaking of cultural or social dysfunction Somé proposes that the manifested malady is just the tip of the iceberg. In fact, one must look beyond the extension of physicality and in to the realm of invisibility. Therefore, African rituals are performed in an attempt to correct the root of the issue, which lie surreptitiously in the unseen world of spirits (Somé 1993. 43). The African mind journeys to religion for release and liberation but the Christian religion that was presented to African slaves brought bondage and servitude. We must ask the question, does Christianity have a genuine place in the heart and minds of people who were once taught to see themselves through Christian eyes as less-than-equal? Should Christianity be looked upon as the religion of the oppressor, Euro-centric and incompatible with African soul-liberation? The atrocities done in the name of Christianity cannot be ignored nor should it be. The question that was asked by the black religious community is whether the caucasianized God of Christian history, the oppressor of African and other conquered people is in fact the God of the Bible? Wilmore and Cone (1979), argues the Black man - though the White man taught him Christian religious expression - has never bought totally the white man's perspective of what Christian religious expression should be.
Christian religious expression in biased support of a 'white is superior worldview' is incongruous with the very nature of humanity, and perceptibly inconsistent with African philosophy. Hicks

argues that amidst the torturous domination of white religionism the slave community set out to build an indomitable structure an almost invisible society of Black Christian community (Hicks.1977). Thusly, he describes the Black Christian reversal: "Under the guise of imitating what they were taught in the back rows of white churches and in field congregations set up by masters and preached to by whites, slaves found a way to appropriate the prevailing faith and retain much of the fundamentals of their African religious heritage and world view" (Hicks 1977 p.29). Bennett (1987), in his account of the Haitian rebellion describes the religious persuasion of the successful African general Toussaint L'Ouverture as a 'devout Catholic'. Toussaint did not consider the Christian God of Catholicism as a God that curry-favored the white man. In fact, when he was deposed Toussaint turned his back on the God of Catholicism. Bennett records that the despondent general walked up to an altar in a village and denounced it saying: " You! You are the God of the white man, not the God of the Negroes! You have betrayed men and deserted me! You have no pity for my race!" Toussaint then threw the marble crucifix to the ground (Bennett 1978). In his denouncement of Catholicism, there was the tacit understanding that if God favored one race over another he should not be reverenced by the disfavored race. Black theologians insisted that the biased God of white Christendom is at best inconsistent with what Jesus taught. It is a parody of the Biblical Christ and does violence to the message and meaning of Christianity. The concept of liberty and liberation has dominated the message of Jesus and the apostles. At the commencement of Jesus' ministry he said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and the recovery of sight to the blind, to release the oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor" (Luke 4: 18&19, NIV). The year of the Lord's favor is taken from the Ancient Israel's concept of Jubilee - a time when debts were forgiven, lands were restored to the original owners and slaves were set free. This year of the Lord's favor or Jubilee, Jesus explains came with permanence in His ministry. Therefore men would not have to wait for the fiftieth year to demonstrate God's favor, God's favor would never leave; this was Jesus' message. "Jesus Christ is clearly identified with the alienated and the oppressed of His society . . . The Christian religion, that was institutionalized in American society, had nurtured an oppressive white racism which is clearly not what Jesus was all about" (Wilmore and Cone 1979). There was a deliberate twisting of meaning. A covert attempt to facilitate an agenda that was noticeably at variance with the intention of the Bible. History points us to an inevitable turn in events -'the very religion that was used to enslave the African was a major catalyst in the emancipation of African slaves.

Counter arguments of resistance

Christian leaders in the African slave communities were denied the privilege of reading the Bible they were handed a second-hand version of a God who despised them. Nevertheless, like sand slipping through the fingers of a hand a different version of the Bible slipped through the oppressive regime bringing hope to a people suffocating with images of white grandiloquence. Despite the deliberate attempts to keep the African in ignorance, freedmen and freemen of the African race became learned leaders. Many of these leaders were Christian ministers among them Peter Williams, Jr., and Nathaniel Paul. "Nathaniel Paul understood the Christian religion and used it to strike hard against slavery" (Wilmore and Cone 1979). These Black leaders understood the message of liberation than flowed from the Scriptural record.

Reverend Absalom Jones for example led a petition to the President of the United States demanding the freedom of slaves. Henry Highland Garnet used Christian religious expression to encourage black people to stand against the forces of oppression (Wilmore and Cone1997). Black Christian leaders proclaimed a message of liberation, a message that cluttered the path of a 'white is right' theology. Wilmore and Cone quotes from a speech made by Garnet in an address to the Slaves of the United States " . . . Slavery had stretched its dark wings of death over the land, the church stood silently by - the priest prophesied falsely, and the people love to have it so . . . the tyrants would meet with plagues more terrible than those of Pharaoh". From this perspective, we see a breaking-through; the voice of deliverance bellows a trumpet of offence against the orchestra of subjugation. Christian expression was now heralded from an angle that completely defied the original intention of the oppressor. Yahweh was no longer looked upon as the God of the oppressor but as the God of the oppressed - He that came down and delivered His people out of the hand of Pharaoh, out of the land of oppression. Slaves identified with the distress and oppression the Hebrews endured. They aligned themselves with Daniel, Noah, Ezekiel, Joshua, Jonah and Moses. These outstanding biblical characters were active participants in social upheavals (Miller 1992). The songs of black Christianity were songs of deliverance - 'We Shall Over-come'. They sung about "Moses, the Pharaoh, the Red Sea, the Promised Land: 'Didn't Ole Pharaoh Get Lost [in the Red Sea]' . . . 'Turn Back Pharaoh's Army', 'I'm Am Bound for the Promised Land' . . ." (Miller 1992). Sermonizers, Black and White equated the suffering of the Hebrew Slaves in Egypt with the plight of the African in American society. The proverbial cat was out of the bag, the Bible could no longer be used to propagate white supremacy without serious challenge or out right rejection from Blacks and Whites who were equally familiar its message.

Christianity to Black people took on a face that offered freedom; its method of education moved from institutionalized rhetoric with a focus of control to a rhapsody of popular education. Most Black preachers began to ignore print culture of the dominant educator and launched into electrifying sermons skillfully manipulating their voices up and down the tonal scale with moans and groans that captured the mood of the message. Miller (1992) reports that white observers often noted the awesome oratorical skills of popular slave preachers. Adapting to the argument of Eugene Genovese, Miller (1992) concurs that "without slave preacher's affirmation of hope amid immense hardship, slaves might not have endured at all". The Gospel message had been filtered through the experience of its Black adherents and tailored to bring normative relevance and meaning to their lives. Therefore, the emphasis of black sermonizers took a sharp turn away from their white counterparts. The whites, now bombarded with a strong under-current of Biblical liberation themes became theoretical. They became preoccupied with abstract debates on philosophies ranging from infant baptism to Darwin's Origin of Species - their world was in order and free from social disruptions. The black religious thinkers on the other hand were taken up with eschatological perspectives, God's intervention in the affairs of men bringing justice to the oppressors and deliverance to the oppressed - their world was filled with violence and disruption. A derivative of this kind of thinking is Martin Luther King's moving eschatological dream-image oration - " I had a dream" - an intervention of hope against a background of distress. "Blacks did not ask whether God existed or whether divine existence can be rationally demonstrated. Divine existence was taken for granted . . . the question they asked was whether God was with them in their struggle" (Williams 1973). Thus, the contributions of slave preachers shaped the understanding of black Christianity. A people torn form their homeland, and separated from tribe, tongue, deliberately alienated from familiarity found unity and extended family. The slave preachers became educators that fostered solidarity and hope. They provided practical instruction for survival in a hostile environment.

David J Bosch commenting on South African Black Theology states: " the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Wilmore and Cone 1979). White theology was loosing the battle for the mind of the oppressed Black. Mezirow, (1991) speaks of transformative learning in which meaning schemes and meaning perspectives that were acquired pre-critically are revisited and revised so that new meaning is acquired from new experiences. This is an apt comparison to the experience of African Americans. The old meaning schemes and meaning perspectives, which painted visions of white superiority were revisited and revised. The African American had a new frame of reference, one that challenged the pre-critical notions of an ignoble past.

Black Christian theory had embarked upon an aggressive philosophy of liberation that moved beyond the shores of hopes, wishes, and rituals; minds were being emancipated. Francis Grimke for example, sounded out against white clergymen for their silence in the face of racial hatred and violence. Grimke openly rebuked his white counter parts calling them "dumb dogs that cannot bark", "hypocrites in the pulpit", and "whited sepulchers". Cries of liberation ran through out the churches. The white Christian community was confronted by a sound doctrine of liberation. The African Christian community was danced to a different drum - the sound of deliverance that flowed from the pages of the Bible had filled their minds.

Christianity therefore, from the perspective of African People was not divorced from the realities that permeated the conditions outside the walls of the church building. Consequently, it provided community, family, and a sense of solidarity for a people who were robbed of all this. It represented a relevant center for emancipatory expression. The message of Christianity was used as a weapon of control to keep a captured people in blissful oppression. Its message was reinterpreted, and paradoxically, it became a directive of liberation.

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A Time For Truth: Women of Color and the National Women's Studies Association A Critical Ethnographic Analysis

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Abstract: This research (an excerpt of a larger body of knowledge, Africentric Feminism Versus Euroamerican Feminism) is a critical ethnographic analysis of the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) focusing on the political rupture between Euroamerican feminists and Women of Color that culminated in a walkout by the Women of Color Caucus (WOCC) at the organization's 1990 national conference in Akron, Ohio. This critical ethnographic approach allowed the researcher to construct a picture of what occurred within the NWSA from the perspectives of the participants themselves.

Introduction

Forty interviews, consisting of broadly structured open-ended questions, were conducted in the quest to provide an appropriately balanced representation of both the Women of Color and the National Women's Studies Association. The majority of the interviews were conducted during 1994 and early 1995. Earnest attempts were made to extend invitations to key players in all respondent categories. The following is a description of the women who were interviewed: Twelve Women of Color Who Participated In The Walkout; Six Women of NonColor Who Participated In The Walkout In Support of Women of Color; Six Women of Color Who Did Not Participate In the Walkout; Six Women of NonColor Who Did Not Participate In The Walkout; Four Women of Color Active With NWSA But Not At The Akron Conference; Two Women of Color Consultants Not At The Akron Conference; First Woman of Color NWSA President; Woman of Color Returned to the NWSA; and Two Principals.

It was the intention of this research to provide both a racially/ethnically balanced representation of the participants involved in the walkout and the National Women's Studies Association. Therefore, the racial and ethnic composition of the sample of this study was an integral part of this research. The participants interviewed were comprised of Afrikanas, First Nations, Chicanas, Latinas, Asian Americans, and Euroamericans. The sample represented women who were not only racially and culturally diverse, but also included women from diverse occupational backgrounds including feminists/womanists both inside and outside of mainstream academia. A vast majority of the participants were academicians, professors. The remaining women were program directors of Women's Centers or Women's Studies, authors, grass root activists and community organizers, graduate students, and one publisher. Most of the women had a long-term involvement with the NWSA. Collectively, they comprised an average of seven years of experience within the association in 1990.

This critical ethnographic analysis revealed that throughout the history and leadership of the National Women's Studies Association, conflict and tension existed involving Afrikana and other Women of Color as a direct result of both individual and institutional racism, and devaluing the knowledge of Afrikana and other Women of Color. The NWSA was on a steady collision course prior to the events that unfolded at Akron, Ohio in the land of Sojourner Truth. Moreover, the walkout at Akron, one hundred and thirty-nine years following Truth's 1851, "And A'n't I A Woman" speech, was not a fluke, but actually unavoidable and serves as an affirmation of the presence of Women of Color.

By 1990, it was apparent to many that the National Women's Studies Association was actually an "inaccessible authoritarian enclave of elitist intellectual" Euroamerican women. (Afrikana and other Women of Color had struggled with the NWSA for fourteen years, and still had no real voice in the association.) The perception of inclusiveness as it pertained to Women of Color in the NWSA was very different from the reality. There was the perception that there were significantly more Women of Color involved in the organization than actually existed. Thus, the perception of inclusiveness of Women of Color was really a misperception. In fact, the actual percentage of Women of Color membership in NWSA was very small. It may have appeared that there was a higher percentage of Women of Color involved in the organization when conference attendance was utilized as evidence. (There was a membership requirement for women presenting at an NWSA conference, but no membership requirement for attending the conference.) Therefore, the leadership of NWSA never felt the need to examine its policies and procedures in order to create a welcoming environment for Women of Color and others who were excluded. At any given time, the percentage of Women of Color membership within the association on average, ranged from ten to twelve percent. For example, conference attendance by Women of Color ranged from a low of one percent at Humboldt (1982) to a high of approximately thirty-eight percent at Spelman (1987).

Three preceding conferences: Storrs (1981), the Autonomous Institute at Rutgers (1984) and Spellman (1987) provide a critical backdrop for understanding the events that led to the 1990 walkout by Women of Color in Akron, Ohio. The following provides a brief overview of the aforementioned conferences.

Storrs

The University of Connecticut at Storrs was the site of the National Women's Studies Association's third annual conference. The conference theme, "Women Respond to Racism," was particularly interesting given the fact that the conference purported to address the individual and institutional racism of both the leadership and the membership of NWSA, was itself racist. Three hundred Women of Color from the U.S. and abroad attended this conference. It is noteworthy that at that time, it was the largest gathering of Women of Color ever assembled in the Women's Movement. Unfortunately, these Women of Color who had traveled from across the United States and other parts of the world, arrived with optimism, that soon culminated into irony, fear and anger.

First and foremost, there were too many presentations with misleading descriptions. It is interesting that the majority of the presentations failed to focus on identifying racism, and NWSA leadership constantly engaged in controlling responses and undermining speeches. Women of Color were isolated into consciousness raising groups for Third World Women only, negating their diversity. Yet, the consciousness raising groups for Euroamerican women were diversified. In other words, their multidimensionality was both recognized and highlighted while Women of Color were ghettoized mirroring their position within the Women's Movement and the broader society. (NWSA experienced an alarming decline in the participation of Afrikana and other Women of Color following the Storrs, Connecticut conference.)

Some perceived the conference as a movement to attract Women of Color and publicly force the association to address both the individual and institutionalized racism within it. Instead, the NWSA Storrs conference was an intellectual exercise with no real commitment on the part of the association. While the Storrs conference was supposed to be a model for dealing with racism, the conference was racist in practice. Issues were never resolved, and the association never really addressed the conference's stated issue, racism. On the final day of the conference, resolutions were presented by approximately two hundred women comprised equally of Women of Color and Euroamerican women who had engaged in coalition, attempting to heal "blistering divisions." The resolution acknowledged that the structure of the NWSA conference had further alienated the women from each other and from responding to racism. For example, it was the position of the women who prepared and presented the resolutions that the conference structure disallowed a cumulative understanding of the issues and did not achieve a working definition of racism. Particularly, clear was the conference itself was racist, and that racism was structural, organizational and individual.

The Autonomous Institute

The Autonomous Institute (1984) was held during NWSA's sixth annual conference, "Steering Our Course: Feminist Education in the 1980s." The Institute was established to provide representation and solidification of the issues and concerns of those groups historically alienated by the National Women's Studies Association, and to make the NWSA accountable to those groups. The Autonomous Institute was all inclusive, representing Afrikana and other Women of Color, lesbians, students, staff, activists, Jewish women, poor and working-class and disabled women. In summary, the Institute sought to facilitate:

1. serious debate pertaining to the various analyses, visions, struggles, failures and successes of women who are victims of multiple oppression;
2. a critical evaluation of mainstream feminist ideologies and practices;
3. the development of ideologies and theories reflecting both the heterogeneity and complexity--the reality of women's lives addressing differences; as well as commonalities; and
4. the development of information and support networks to sustain coalition-building nationally, as well as internationally.

There were mixed emotions among NWSA's membership and leadership surrounding the Autonomous Institute. Moreover, many chose to characterize the Institute as being separatist and were concerned with the Autonomous Institute diluting the organization's strength and power. There were strange occurrences surrounding who was actually in leadership and making the decisions for the Institute. Numerous difficulties arose surrounding NWSA's feelings toward the Autonomous Institute which exemplified the practices and attitudes that culminated in the need for an Autonomous Institute. The National Women's Studies Association engaged in divisive efforts, such as scheduling a joint meeting of all the caususes on the same day as the Autonomous Institute. Despite the actions and inactions of the NWSA, the Institute was able to meet its goal, "opening the lines of communication among those who had historically been alienated by the association." However, not surprisingly, following the Autonomous Institute, NWSA would return to business as usual, ignoring the critical needs and concerns of some of its membership.

Spelman

There was a significant presence of Afrikana women at NWSA's ninth annual conference, "Weaving Women's Colors: A Decade of Empowerment." It was a truly an historic event, for the National Women's Studies Association had never held a conference at an historically Afrikana women's college campus. Jeanetta Cole, Spelman's newly appointed president was the first Afrikana woman president in its history. NWSA's 1987 conference would be her first official act as president. More Afrikana women attended this conference than any prior conferences. Thirty-eight percent of the 1600 participants at Spelman were Women of Color, primarily Afrikana and some Latina women. There were six hundred Afrikana and other Women of Color. Yet following Spelman, they did not return to the NWSA. Again, the longevity of Women of Color in the NWSA would remain an ongoing problem.

There were always distractions at the National Women's Studies Association's conferences, and Spelman would be no different. There was some major scrimmaging around Afrikana women's (instituted as a task force at Champaign, Urbana in 1986) decision to seek caucus status. It was a serious struggle for Afrikana women in the association, for they met opposition from some of the membership of the association, including some of the members of the Women of Color Caucus. Some of the other Women of Color and Euroamerican women attempted to thwart this action. There were numerous debates regarding Afrikana women's proliferation of caucus status. Some argued that there was no need for a separate caucus for Afrikana women, and expressed that this move would dilute the efforts of the Women of Color Caucus. However, a task force had limited power in terms of the governance of the organization. While Afrikana women and other Women of Color had similar interests and goals, they also had separate interests and goals.

The Afrikan American Women's Task Force became the Afrikan American Women's Caucus to the dismay of the opposing parties. There was always a constant struggle for Women of Color, Afrikana women in particular, to obtain any form of real power within the association. Some members of the leadership of the National Women's Studies Association did not approve of this action, because caucus status would provide Afrikana women with power. Now, there were two Afrikana women in powerful positions (elected one of four Chairs of the Women of Color Caucus).

The Walkout

The following provides a brief discussion and analysis of the walkout by the Women of Color in Akron, Ohio (1990), exploring its historical significance, the dilemma surrounding the first full-time Woman of Color professional hired by the NWSA and the tension surrounding her subsequent termination, a critical perspective of those factors which culminated in an unprecedented walkout by Afrikana and other Women of Color and their supporters in the land of Sojourner Truth that literally crippled the National Women's Studies Association.In May of 1989, the National Women's Studies Association hired its first full-time Woman of Color professional, Ruby Sales. Sales was hired as assistant director yet she was not treated as such. From the onset of her employment, there were myriad problems and issues. Initially, she was not provided an office key, and for two weeks had to withstand the outdoor elements awaiting the arrival of Sharon Neufeld, the office administrator. Ruby Sales was subjected to racial slurs as well as overt racism within the NWSA national office whenever the National Women's Studies Association engaged in questionable practices, such as recording Harriet Gossett's poetry during its 1989 conference and attempting to sell it without her permission. Upon Gossett's protest, the association called her a "prima donna" in Sales' presence. According to Sales, it was not uncommon that other Afrikana women performers at the conference were also referred to as "prima donnas." Ruby Sales insisted that the National Women's Studies Association apologize to Gossett. Another problem arose when Caryn McTighe Musil, the executive director of the association wanted Sales to promote (which Sales refused) a very stereotypic traveling photographic presentation (a very unbalanced representation) by a Jewish woman depicting Afrikana women as ugly with their breasts hanging down to their thighs. Particularly, insidious was the incident involving Sharon Neufeld, the office administrator, who in the presence of Caryn Musil, the executive director called Ruby Sales a "nigger." No action was taken against the office administrator by Musil or the Euroamerican female board of directors. It was apparent that some in the national office resented Sales and were neither accustomed to nor desirous of taking directives from a Woman of Color. Problems became so serious in the national office that in May, 1989, Rochelle Fortier Nwadiba, an outside evaluator was hired to evaluate racism within it. Nwadiba's evaluation substantiated the fact that both racism and racist practices existed and occurred within the national office of the National Women's Studies Association. She made numerous recommendations (one of which was not to terminate Sales) to ameliorate the problems, but her recommendations were ignored. The Steering Committee of the NWSA terminated Ruby Sales under the guise that the consultant's report recommended termination. Attempts by the Steering Committee to contain the contents of Nwadiba's report exascerbated matters.

There are many questions that remain unanswered regarding the NWSA's handling of Ruby Sales, the first full-time Woman of Color to be hired by the National Women's Studies Association. Some of the women interviewed were proNWSA, proadministration. According to one, the hiring of the first full-time Woman of Color was liberal "white women's guilt" and a knee-jerk response. It is apparent to the researcher and other Women of Color interviewed that the termination of Ruby Sales was deliberate due to the inability of or unwillingness of the Euroamerican leadership to "fix" matters at the national office and in the association by avoiding the issue of racism within the NWSA. Therefore, Ruby Sales was a continual reminder of their inability to correct the problems or they were simply unwilling to do so. Rather than seriously working to ameliorate the problem, it was easier to terminate Sales. (Perhaps, what was really at question, was not the competency of Sales, but that of the leadership of the association.)"Feminist Education: Calling The Question," NWSA's twelfth annual conference, held June, 1990 at the University of Akron, Ohio would be the site of numerous ironies. The Steering Committee of the NWSA prepared a two and one half page paper, "NWSA and Racism" which was their attempt to reflect a proactive record. Essentially, it was merely a defensive reaction on the part of leadership to counteract potentially explosive charges of race discrimination and racism surrounding Ruby Sales. The Women of Color Caucus also counterargued and issued their own statement entitled, "NWSA and Racism: The Women of Color Caucus Calls The Question,"disputing the claims of the NWSA's list of anti-racist stands and the misinformation contained within NWSA's statement. In essence, Women of Color lodged charges that NWSA appropriated the gains of painstaking struggles of Women of Color. A dramatic artistic performance by Afrikana women drummers and dancers would mark the opening of the conference. They began a warrior dance to the warrior drums dedicated to Ruby Sales. The lyrics spoke volumes to what lie ahead. Women warriors where are you now? Have you forgotten your war dance? Have you forgotten your war songs? Or do you think the war is over? This dance would prove to be symbolic of the ongoing frustration experienced by Arikana and other Women of Color with individual and institutionalized racism within the association. The former first lady of Ohio, Dagmar Celeste posed a poignant question during her opening keynote address. Do we have the courage to peacefully and gracefully let each other be free gracefully? Celeste had no clue surrounding Ruby Sales and the debacle to ensue. NWSA's executive director, Caryn McTighe Musil's speech was ironically entitled, "Belief Against All Odds." The aforementioned ironies would later prove to be prophetic.

Ruby Sales' situation was a catalyst and provided tangible evidence of the racism and classism of NWSA's leadership. Eighty-eight Women of Color convened to discuss Ruby Sales and their historical exclusion in NWSA. The Women of Color met day and night in an attempt to effectively resolve matters, and collectively decided not to attend any conference sessions. On Friday, June 22, 1990, Women of Color formally lodged their complaints and presented their demands. The Women of Color did attempt to negotiate with the NWSA, however, the association became attached to the rules and regulations and failed to act. The following day, the Women of Color and their supporters walked out protesting the individual and institutionalized racism in both the leadership and membership of the National Women's Studies Association. It was the feeling of many women, both Women of Color and women of nonColor, that the National Women's Studies Association's public action subsequent to the 1990 walkout repeated much of its inactions at the Akron conference in that there was a continuing failure for NWSA to readily confront itself and address the potentially explosive charges of racism seriously. Following the walkout by the Women of Color, the NWSA went from four thousand women in attendance at conferences to (for awhile) no conferences at all. The walkout by the Women of Color tremendously impacted the NWSA and Women's Studies community at large.

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Where Do They Come From: African-American Nurses Tell Their Stories

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Abstract: In this study eighteen African-American nurses share their perspectives on African-American culture as a factor influencing their selection of nursing as a career, career experiences, and roles as health care providers in the African-American community.

Summary

African-Americans electing to enter the profession of nursing have, more often than not, been confronted with societal barriers rooted in prejudice and racism (Hine, 1989; Mosley, 1995). Of the roughly two million plus registered nurses in the United States today, African-Americans comprise less than 5% of the population (Powell, 1992). Recruitment and retention of African-Americans by White colleges/universities into baccalaureate nursing programs continues to be plagued with low enrollment and high attrition (Campbell & Davis, 1996; Carnegie, 1992; Nelson, 1996; Powell, 1992). In their persistence to become professional nurses, African-Americans seek entry into the profession through Associate Degree Nursing (ADN) programs (Powell, 1962).

Associate Degree Nursing programs are commonly offered in community colleges throughout the United States. In the city of Chicago, the Chicago City Colleges operate five ADN programs (Olive-Harvey, Malcolm X, Kennedy-King, Daley, and Truman). The increased popularity of these two year programs is related to their accessibility, cost, and perceived plausibility as a means to an end for many African-Americans electing to be nurses (Dowell, 1996; Mosley, 1995; Nelson, 1996; Vaughn, 1997).

Disproportionately, African-Americans suffer the highest morbidity and mortality from disease and illness when compared to other ethnic/racial groups in the United States (Alcena, 1995; Semmes, 1996; Varner, 2000). Coupled with poverty and inadequate access to health care delivery, African-Americans succumb to illnesses that are treatable (Alcena, 1995; McCuen 1988; Williams & Rucker, 2000). Even a casual look at the disparity of health services available to African-Americans clearly depicts a worsening situation as regards health maintenance, disease prevention, and life expectancy (Coleman-Miller, 2000; White, 1999, Yates, 2000). While the overall health of the American population has improved, sixteen percent of the African-American population report that they are in fair to poor health as compared to ten percent of white Americans (Fact Sheet, 2001). Williams and Rucker, 2000, describe the racial disparities in health care that exist in the United States as a national embarrassment. Cumulative data from national sources reveal that: African-Americans had an overall mortality rate of 1.6 times that of their white counterpart in 1995 which was identical to the Black/White mortality relationship in 1950 (Williams, 1999).

The shortening life expectancy of African-Americans coupled with escalating morbidity and mortality from disease threatens the continued existence of many African-American communities throughout the United States (Alcena, 1995; Jones & Rice, 1987; McCuen, 1988; Williams, 1999). Historically, African-American nurses have been in the forefront fighting to improve the health status of their communities (Carnegie, 1995; Davis, 1999; Hine, 1989; Hine, Brown, & Terborg-Penn, 1993). Today, African-American nurses continue to fight the battle to improve health care delivery in their communities (Gardner, 1996). With traditions rooted in their African ancestry, these nurses have effectively addressed the needs of their communities as health teachers and care providers (Blassingame, 1979; Hine, Brown, Terborg-Penn, 1993; Spector, 1996).

Coupled with the reality of racial nihilism and under representation of African-American health professionals in Black America, African-American nurses may be the catalyst needed to intercede in the health adversities currently impacting the African-American community.

African-American Nurses and Culture

Culture. The bane of one's existence...embraced...modified...denied. Is culture the same for everyone who seemingly are alike, related, or in ethnic/racial/social/professional association? Or, is culture what one perceives it to be? Various explanations are prevalent in the defining of "culture". Culture has been perceived and accepted as: one's life structuring guidelines introduced and reinforced during early stages of development; what we have been taught to respect, believe, and found to be "true"; what we do that sets us apart from others and what they do; dominant/non dominant; primary/secondary; of the majority or minority; significant/insignificant, activity or situation dependent (Leininger, 1981; Leininger, 1991; Mosley, 1995; Webster, 1996).

In this study eighteen African-American nurses reflected upon their perception of African-American culture as it relates to their selection of nursing as a career, career, experiences, and roles as health care professionals in the African-American community. As a heterogeneous group with the commonality of being African-American, each nurse assigned meaning to the concept of "culture" as it impacted and structured their lives and life experiences. Their explanation of culture centered primarily around "what one is taught, values and beliefs that govern behavior" with specific emphasis on the internalization of these teachings during early developmental years. These nurses did not unanimously identify that by simply being African-American (and presumably rooted in African-American culture) influenced their career selection and practice decision making. Many study participants found providing an explanation of culture and its perceived importance as African-American nurses a wrenching experience.

The impact of culture on the decisions study participants made is clearly evident when his/her history is perused. African-American culture, depicted as "group specific teachings, values, beliefs, and behaviors," is both embraced and denied as a significant factor in the lives of these nurses. For the majority of study participants, cultural bounding overwhelming influenced the selection of nursing as a career. These nurses identified closely with grandmothers, mothers, fathers, siblings, and teachers who reinforced cultural teachings and provided encouragement to achieve. Study participants who felt simply being African-American did not, in and of itself, influence their decisions to become nurses described other factors that more importantly structured their lives (quest for personal growth and development, accepted behavior in parents home, religious teachings, school and residential experiences outside of the African-American community).

Four research questions provided the format to gain insight into the perceptions these nurses hold relative to the influence of African-American culture in their selection of nursing as a career, career experiences, and roles as health care professionals in the African-American community. These questions were: (1) What are the cultural beliefs and values commonly identified by African-American nurses? (2) How do African-American nurses relate to their career experiences and perceive their roles as health professionals? (3) As health professionals, how do African-American nurses perceive their importance in addressing the health needs of Black Americans? (4) How do African-American nurses influence the effectiveness with which health needs are addressed in the Black community? In this study, the term "Black" is used interchangeably to denote "African-American."

In response to the first question which specifically focused on the participant's perception of African-American culture and its influence, the responses are listed here in order of repeated importance: (1) Caring, (2) Religion/Spirituality, (3) Respect, (4) Family, (5) Honesty, (6) Be proud of what you do, and (7) Value people as human beings. The depth of feeling is best appreciated when heard through the nurses' voices. For this reason excerpts from the interview sessions are included.

Participant Responses Related to Culture

"Values of honesty, taking care of family, community, connectedness, religious values of my education and family upbringing. Those are the values that kind of played a part in my selection of nursing."

"I believe culture is a specific way of life, a specific way of doing things in a group of people...your morals, other influencing things such as your religion, the way you communicate with people...I think it is all from your basic culture. Just how you communicate with people...and I think there are different cultures in one society. I believe Black people communicate differently among each other than white people. I think the white culture is the so called dominant culture. But, I believe that Black people have a very strong culture...a strong belief...a way things should be done...and how people should be approached and talked to."

"I wish I had a dictionary in front of me. Well, I would say culture is something.. .your way of living; the way you have been brought up... and, culture is what your race or group of people, your society... African-Americans, the way we have lived, the things that we do, the way we do it, how we talk, how we eat, how we walk... even our mannerisms and our thinking is different. But, it's just that we do things differently. I'm left handed and I will do things differently from a right handed person. I think that's what culture is. It is even inborn/inbred... it is something that is there... something that your people through the years have been doing. One strong point of culture for African-Americans is that they come from a strong stock of people. Things might not be the way you want it, or you might not have the tools that everyone has but for some reason or another we're able to adapt, change, and do it with what we have. It may be a simple pot, we may not have a strong pot, we'll find a pot and make it work. We'll cook in that pot and use it. Our culture is to survive. We are survivors. We can survive. Our forefathers in slavery endured much; they adapted to many things. We don't think of them as radicals but many of them were radical. The radicalness was to get out of slavery, to do better, to get further. On one hand it looked like they were accepting where they were; on the other hand you could see that anytime they could get away... they got. So, I think that is culture."

"I don't necessarily feel my values and beliefs are specifically related to me being African-American. I think my values and beliefs are part of how I was raised. The fact that I happened to be African-American is just one of those things. I think my value system/belief system is somewhat rooted in religion. I was raised a Catholic, and somewhat rooted in how you behaved in my parents house."

"To me culture is my setting, my background that I grew up in. Ideas, beliefs, and practices of my parents and my grandparents. My very strong religious background. I came up in church; I've always been in church and that had a lot of bearing on my practice as a nurse. Caring for individuals, that made me go into nursing... my background, my upbringing. The care that I received when I was a patient in the hospital... I experienced a lack of caring for individuals... and because of my background and what I thought culture meant. At the time, I didn't define it as culture... it was my upbringing. I have since come to realize that was my culture, my upbringing. That made me decide to go into nursing so that I can show care and concern for others."

"When I think about the African-American culture, because a lot of things from my family, grandparents, mom... my culture, African culture has not been passed on to me and so I pretty much feel that my culture is similar to the American Caucasian culture. I've been to school with them, lived next door to them, associated with them, and pretty much I feel the same thing they want out of life is similar to the same things I want out of life. Such as, one of the main things my mom fostered in me is independence, learning how to be independent."

"One particular value that came from my culture was, don't give up... keep striving for what you want... and that's interesting for in my baccalaureate program, I am the only male among eighteen students. Out of the eighteen, twelve are Caucasian. So, it's a struggle, but I wont give up... and I also offer to the Caucasian student in the classroom a true picture of African-Americans."

Career Experiences of African-American Nurses

While a few study participants felt African-American clients could be cared for by any nurses (other ethnic/racial orientation), the majority felt it was important for African-American clients to be cared for by African-American nurses. Explanations regarding nursing care delivery to African-American clients is reflected in exerpts of career experiences shared by these nurses.

"I believe that I can relate to an African-American client probably better than some other nationality, or someone from a different culture. Sometimes, because I've gone through certain things that I can help that particular client to understand... that they have a right to go through their healing process the way they've been brought up in their own culture. By me coming up through a similar culture, I feel I can assist them perhaps a little bit better."

"I don't think that because I am an African-American that I am going to be able to provide better care to another African-American than maybe someone else of different ethnic background. I think it comes from deeper than that. I think it comes from inside of that person... how they feel about another human being, period. For me personally, it doesn't make any difference if I am taking care of an African-American person or some other ethnic person. I'm gonna provide as much as I can provide for either person. It just happens to be easier for African-

American patients for the most part because I'm able to better anticipate their needs. So, I may deliver more smoothly, than maybe I might for someone else that I've got to search for."

"I have found it to be more helpful for African-American clients because, first of all being an African-American myself, I can talk the talk and walk the walk... as you say with these patients. I know that they are sick and a lot of times cannot express themselves good enough to explain what it is that's bothering them. I can go from one level to the next with these patients. So, I think it is indeed an advantage for an African-American nurse to be working with African-American patients because we understand those customs. I used to work at a hospital in Waukegan... when I went to work one day, stepping off the elevator I got this smell (Glovers Mange)... and the nurses were just wild, running around wondering what that was... they didn't know what to make of it. And I said, it's Glovers Mange. They said, what do you use it for? I said, well somebody is putting it on their scalp... it's suppose to make your hair grow. They had never heard of that because they have long hair. And sure enough that's what it was. A little elderly lady had someone put that on her scalp. They don't know these kinds of things. They don't know about putting Vaseline or some kind of lanolin based cream on the skin to keep it moisturized. They don't know what to do for us... better than we know. So, I think it is a definite advantage."

"No. The reason being, because sometimes they don't have enough respect for the fact that we are Black and we can be nurses. They will respect the opinion of a White person first. So, it depends on the person, their educational background and I would say, how they have been brought up. For a lot of times the Black patient gives you the worse time. They don't feel you are qualified."

Perceived Importance in Addressing Health Needs of Black Americans

Without exception study participants felt their roles as health professionals were important and that they played key roles in addressing the health needs of the Black community. Each worked in their own way. Some worked directly through professional organizations, or church ministries to address the health needs of their communities. Others worked through their jobs as direct care providers, supervisors of care, or community/institutional liaisons. A few voiced concern that they were not as active in the community as they could be. The recurrent need as voiced by these nurses was the need for disease specific health education. The following excerpts reflect the importance study participants placed on health education:

"The Health Advisory Board is a group of professionals who have some type of medical expertise (all types of medical expertise). We provide health education fro the community as well as for the members of our congregation. We do research on any topic that we feel is going to significantly impact our particular congregation and the community we serve."

"At this moment, I am very active in the American Heart Association and I think it is a very important association from a dietary perspective. African-Americans have a higher incidence of cardiovascular problems. I am active in this organization to promote eating well and exercise."

"As a nurse, I am in the process of working with my church in transition... meaning people who have transitioned from welfare to the work place... teaching parenting skills, teaching nutrition... how to cook on a budget, doing blood pressure screenings... advising and referring to substance abuse programs. I teach young people how to write resumes... how to dress for success... and, work with other community organizations."

Effectiveness of African-American Nurses in Addressing Community Health Needs

Study participants identified numerous health/disease/illness concerns that impact the Black community. The top five concerns were: (1) hypertension, (2) diabetes mellitus, (3) cardiac problems, (4) substance abuse, and (5) kidney failure. They felt they were most effective in addressing these health concerns through their roles as health educators and client communicators. They identified understanding the client, concern/compassion for the client, communication, and leadership in the form of client advocacy as primary factors that influenced their effectiveness as health professionals in the Black community. Actions/interventions undertaken to underscore their effectiveness is best illustrated by the following:

"I think there is a huge need for appropriate health education in the African-American community. It is extremely lacking. I think a lot of the problems that we see in our communities is because of the lack of health education. For instance, as you know, the number one cause of kidney failure in the African-American community is from hypertension. And, hypertension is a disease that is very controllable. But, since the disease doesn't make you feel sick all the time, people don't adhere to the medications and the diet that is necessary to keep it under control. The next thing you know these people are in renal failure and they are on dialysis. So, one of the big things that is lacking in the African-American community is health education. In this hospital, I am a health educator, patient educator. I teach nurses to teach patients. I get involved in community screenings. In my community, I give advice from a nursing perspective... advice about health care. I'm active in community screenings and health education as much as I possibly can."

"For my church I give talks on diabetes and I do CPR. I am a CPR instructor and I will do it in the community."

"Teaching health concerns... preventive measures, infection control, telling clients where they can go for needed services. Or where I can be used as a resource to find another nurse that might know where they can get whatever they need. Stressing preventive measures for obesity, stop smoking, for cancer, heart attacks, hypertension... just general education."

"A lot of what I do is based on educating the White to work closer with African-Americans... ask them certain questions everyday to see what they need. Working with a group of people like the social workers and getting social workers in on these cases... if they need psychiatric help... getting child psych in to see these people.. get in the people that these people need so that they start feeling comfortable with the other staff when I'm not there so that they can get the medical attention that they need."

The African-American Nurse Population: Significance Attributed to Culture in Selection of Nursing as a Career, Career Experiences, and Role of Health Care Provider in the Black Community

In this study eighteen African-American nurses shared their beliefs, life and career experiences to allow us the opportunity to gain insight into their feelings and opinions regarding factors that have influenced and structured their lives. They have allowed us to hear their voices as they reflect upon what culture means to them, their nurturing, and nurturing of others. These nurses have expressed their concerns for the health problems that continue to rage in the Black community. They have identified ways in which health care needs can be better addressed to enhance the health and resultant longevity of African-Americans. Paramount in the histories of these nurses is their concern for others and the recognition of the need for education as a way to inroad the myriad of diseases and illnesses disproportionately impacting the Black community.

Hearing the voices of these nurses has allowed us to witness their concerns as health care professionals. Of significance is the importance these nurses attribute to education as a health care intervention in the Black community and also as a means of professional growth and development for themselves. This population is representative of persons who have retired as nurses; persons with twenty-six to five years of nursing practice; persons who entered the profession as Licensed Practical Nurses and have continued their pursuit of learning to attain Associate Degrees in Nursing, Baccalaureate Degrees in Nursing, Master and Doctoral Degrees. They are community activist who go to beauty shops and barber shops to instruct African-Americans on breast and prostate cancer. They serve on hospital committees and intervene in culturally insensitive activities directed towards the Black community. They are educators, staff nurses, supervisors, directors of nursing, community liaison professionals, and paramedic instructors who importantly perceive their roles as practitioners of nursing and advocates of health care improvement in the African-American community.

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The Afrikana Church's Role in Educating Afrikana Adults: Moving from Emotionalism to Activism, Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church of Chicago

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Abstract: The Afrikana Church, from its beginning and throughout the Civil Rights Era, incorporated the educational concerns of its members and others in their surrounding communities. The Church has been one of the few Afrikana institutions that has historically assisted its adults in securing both formal and informal education since the 1860s.

Introduction

The Afrikana Church has had a rich tradition of church sponsored adult education, yet the full extent of the Afrikana Church's participation in adult education has been conspicuously absent in the annals of history. Fostering education for Afrikana adults is built into the structure that characterizes the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The A.M.E. Church in the absence of adult education through schools, adapted by taking on that function. It is this adaptation that has not been acknowledged in mainstream literature.

This paper, a part of a larger body of research, explores the role of and documents the contribution of historic Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church of Chicago in the education of Afrikana adults. Moreover, this research further examines, the importance of integrating the knowledge of both religious and secular teaching, and the impact of social, political and sociocultural influences on the Afrikana community.

Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church of Chicago, established in 1844, played a prominent role in the emergence of Afrikanas into mainstream society. Its founding meeting focused on the abolition of slavery and its first community project was a Freedom Association. Quinn's early membership was primarily composed of former slaves and freedom was a major focus at Quinn Chapel which served as a major Underground Railroad Station. Since its beginning, Quinn Chapel has served and met the needs of the Afrikana community. The origin of many social service and medical institutions was Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church who responded to the needs of Afrikana men and women in many pioneering efforts. Quinn's legacy of service has been instrumental in the preservation of the Afrikana community, fostering both education and transformation.

The Underground Railroad

Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church was established when Afrikanas were still enslaved in the South. Slavery and its aftermath left Afrikanas in a state of crisis with few governmental programs or little intervention to assist them. Mother Quinn became a driving force of organized activity to obtain social service, social justice and economic progress for Afrikanas. It is important to reiterate that first, and foremost, freedom was central to Quinn Chapel which is evidenced by its early membership, primarily former slaves. In fact, Pastor Reverend J.T.

Jenifer, who acquired the site and led the congregation to erect the current church was a former slave (who preached the funeral of Frederick Douglass in 1895).

During slavery, Quinn Chapel with an active membership of three hundred and twenty-three in 1850, provided safety and gave closure to runaway slaves. It was a main terminal of the Underground Railroad in Chicago (Illinois Writer's Project/"Negro in Illinois" Papers). Quinn Historiographer, the late Welton M. Smith (1916 - 2000) addresses this issue and states:

> Quinn Chapel was really the foundation for the Southern Movement [The Great Migration]. This was still during slavery and we [Quinn Chapel] became a station on the Underground Railroad, and served many people twice a day, six days a week. There's one notation that says, they served six hundred (600) people twice a day and they fed them and gave them a place to stay until they could make the next stop on the way to Canada (interview, 2000).

Passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 increased activity in the Underground Railroad throughout the North.

> Chicago was openly defiant. Not only did the white population express its antagonisms, but the Negro community gave proof of its strong resentment against the law. Two of the terminals of the Railroad during the forties and fifties were organized activity on behalf of fugitive slaves. Apparently the most articulate segment of the Negro population attends this church [Quinn]. Four women members of Quinn Chapel, known as the 'Big Four,' were among the active 'conductors' on the railroad (Drake in Hayes, Illinois Writers Project/"Negro in Illinois" Papers, 1936-1942, Box 5, folder 27).

It was reported that on October 2, 1850, over three hundred (300) people were in attendance at a meeting at Quinn Chapel with Pastor George W. Johnson presiding. A 'Liberty Association' was established during this meeting (Chicago Daily Journal in Illinois Writers Project/"Negro in Illinois" Papers, 1936-1942, Box 5, folder 27). Seven police divisions were formed by the Liberty Association. These 'police divisions' were responsible for patrolling Chicago streets each night for slave catchers (Daily Democratic Press in Illinois Writers Project/"Negro in Illinois" Papers, 1936-1942, Box 5, folder 27).

Quinn's Terminal of the Underground Railroad also actively cooperated with the Afrikana women who were the Daughters of Zion. The principle activities of this group were to assist runaway slaves from the South to relocate to Canada.

In the 1850s Quinn was located downtown and its men in the congregation were responsible for organizing a vigilante post. Their purpose was to aid and assist runaway slaves who came to Chicago en route to Canada. They organized a group of men, and every night they would go out into the community to help patrol the streets and make sure that no slave catchers broke into homes or seized Blacks who had recently come to the city. During that same period, fugitive slaves came to Chicago, many of them settling remained here through the efforts of Quinn. Quinn assisted the other fugitives via groups that organized and escorted them down to the lake to get a boat straight into Canada (Reverend Dr. Charles S. Spivey Jr., interview, 2000).

In post slavery era, Quinn Chapel remained the center for "end migration" from the South and provided an orientation of Chicago and available opportunities for Afrikanas.

Quinn Chapel Mother of Outstanding Institutions

The race riots, depressions, and the Great Chicago Fire of 1871 were particularly challenging and dangerous for Afrikanas. As a result, Afrikanas came to Quinn Chapel to stay abreast of current and unfolding events and available alternatives, and to obtain both social and organizational benefits. Few social service and medical institutions existed in Chicago between 1844 and 1919. The inception of many institutions occurred in Quinn Chapel. The following presents a synopsis of some of these institutions.

Provident Hospital of Chicago was conceived in Quinn Chapel in 1891. Provident Hospital and Training School, organized by Dr. Daniel Hale Williams (renown heart surgeon, performed the first open heart surgery), opened its doors on May 4, 1891. It was the first hospital in Chicago for Afrikanas and the first private Afrikana hospital in the United States where Afrikana interns and nurses could be trained and employed, and Afrikana physicians could work and care for Afrikana patients. (Prior to 1891, the only available option for Afrikana patients was surgery in the doctor's office or in the patient's own home.)

> The aim of its founder was not only to care for the sick poor among the colored people and all people regardless of race or creed, but also to furnish colored young women an opportunity of becoming trained nurses (The Daily Inter Ocean in Copeland, Illinois Writers Project/"Negro in Illinois" Papers, 1936-1942, Box 36, folder 2).

The first class of Afrikana trained nurses in the country graduated from Provident Hospital and Training School in 1892. Provident Hospital and Training School had always emphasized teaching, and was recognized by many as "America's greatest all Negro Medical Center and one of, if not the greatest of all Negro Institutions in the world" (Davis in Williams, Illinois Writers Project/"Negro in Illinois" Papers, 1936-1942, Box 36, folder 2).

In 1898 a "home for the aged" was founded in Quinn Chapel by member Mrs. Gabriella K. Smith, affectionately known as "Aunt Gabe," who saw the tremendous need for a suitable, comfortable and cheerful environment for aging Afrikanas, who were unable to properly care for themselves. She was so concerned about their well-being and the lack of appropriate facilities for elderly Afrikanas that she opened the doors of her own home to Afrikana elderly. The Jane Dent home was originally called the Home for the Aged and Infirmed Colored People. It was the first nursing home in Chicago that welcomed Afrikanas (Quinn Historian, interview, 2000, Quinn Archives).

Customary exclusionary racist practices precluded Afrikana men from participating in organized recreation and housing (away from home) during the early years of the Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCAs). In order to meet the needs of Afrikana men, an organized effort for a YMCA actually began from the pulpit of Quinn Chapel between 1900 and 1911. Those organized efforts (publicly endorsed by U.S. President Taft in 1911) resulted in the construction of the Wabash YMCA at 36th and Wabash which was dedicated in mid 1913. It is reported that Euroamerican financier Julius Rosenwald donated $25,000 to this fund for the construction of the YMCA, supplementing the contributions from the local Afrikana community (Quinn Archives, Quinn Historian, interview, 2000).

In 1919 there were no existing facilities that provided housing, comfort, encouragement and protection to non-resident young Afrikana women seeking employment opportunities in Chicago. Melissa Elam, a member of Quinn Chapel, had a dream and wanted to assist these young Afrikana women. She fulfilled that dream by organizing and establishing the Elam House for Working Girls. It is not surprising that many years later, Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church would be the origin of the South Parkway Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) on Chicago's south side. Sometime after the Elam House for Working Girls was established, another Quinn member, "Mother" Mattie Love organized a house for young (non-resident) male aspiring doctors. It is reported that many became outstanding doctors in Chicago and had resided in this home while pursuing their medical degrees and careers (Quinn Historian, interview, 2000, Quinn Archives).

Quinn Chapel and Adult Education

Quinn Chapel has provided various church supported educational programs, including: The Conference of Older Girls and Young Women, The Men's and Women's Day Programs, The Ida Crews Monroe Missionary Guild, The Paul Quinn Women's Missionary Society, The Layman's Organization, The Brotherhood, The Board of Stewards, The Sunday School, The June Rose Concert, The Allenites, The Simpsonites, and The Christian Debutante Master Dedication. Often education occurred within the context of missionary projects, conferences and exposure to different cultures. The following provides a brief discussion of The Sunday School, The Allenites, and The Christian Debutante Master Dedication.

It was not uncommon for the congregation to be educated politically as well as socially. Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church has a history of politics from the pulpit. Often there were sermons and teachings that evolved around political and social issues. Adult members of the congregation actively participate in The Sunday School. Many of the participants were educators themselves and became excellent role models for young adults stressing the importance of education. Education was inherently stressed at Quinn. Adults have come from across Chicagoland and the nation to participate in Quinn's Sunday School. Quinn Chapel is renown for their Sunday School programs.

The Allenites provided the church with hymnals, sponsored the Founder's Day Service and the Baccalaureate Service. The Allenites were a group of young female adults who provided the church with hymnals while sponsoring the founder's day service program which honored the memory of Richard Allen, who is considered the founder and father of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Additional duties of this organization included the sponsorship of Baccalaureate Service which gave recognition for scholastic achievement and educational attainment to all graduates at all educational levels (elementary, middle school, high school and college) citywide. Recipients were presented to the congregation receiving various tokens of appreciation.

The Christian Debutante Master Dedication, established by Julma Crawford (General Connectional Director, Christian Debutante Master Commission), was a avenue to introduce young Afrikana men and women into the church society and launch them into young adult organizations. These young adults participated in various oratorical, social and educational events throughout the A.M.E Connectional Church. Young Afrikana men and women obtained in-depth learning about the church, the bible, and a continuous religious growth and education. They were trained to be orators (to speak without a prepared written speech, to speak from the heart), writers, producers, and illustrators of books, to compose and assemble programs, develop program books, including page makeup, cutting and pasting, create, edit and refine prayers and speeches, set stages, signs and props. These were some of the learning experiences described by interviewees. The impact of the Christian Debutante Master Dedication has had long reaching effects.

There has always been an inseparable relationship between Quinn Chapel and its members surrounding its encouragement and recognition of education and civic leadership and development, and politics would be no different. Numerous members of Quinn Chapel have served the community at the local, state and national level. Quinn was renown for its local and national political power. Quinn Chapel provided a pulpit for both national and local politicians.

State and National Affairs

Adelbert H. Roberts and William A. Wallace were long term active members of Quinn who served the Illinois state legislature with distinction. In fact, Senator Adelbert H. Roberts was the first Afrikana and person of color to be elected to the state legislature. Senator Roberts served three terms in the legislature. Following the Chicago race riot of 1919, he was appointed to a special commission convened by Illinois Governor Frank Lowden to investigate the race riot. In 1938, William A. Wallace became the first Afrikana and Democrat of Color to be elected to the State Senate. Thirteen years of public service including city and county government launched William A. Wallace to a prominent position within the Democratic Party.

Reverend Corneal A. Davis, Shadrach B. Turner, George T. Kersey and James Y. Carter (formerly vehicle commissioner of Chicago in the 1960s) were active church members who served as members of the Illinois House of Representatives: Reverend Corneal A. Davis, thirty-six (36) year veteran of the Illinois House of Representatives and former Assistant Majority Leader, was noted as "the father" of anti-discrimination laws in Illinois. Pastor A. Leon Bailey (1902 - 1976) was also active in state government, he was the first Executive Director of the Illinois Commission on Human Relations and served two four year terms under Governors Dwight Green and Adlai Stevenson, respectively (Quinn Archives, Quinn Historian, Portia Bailey-Beal, interviews, 2000).

Afrikanas have had severe difficulty securing their rights. Quinn Chapel has been the source of many efforts to combat the ill-treatment of Afrikanas. Two members of Quinn Chapel have successfully served as aldermen in the Chicago City Council. Robert R. Jackson served as a member of the City Council for twenty-one year. Reverend Archibald James Carey Jr. (1908 - 1981) served the Third Ward for eight years (1947 - 1955), prior to becoming pastor of Quinn Chapel. Jackson's and Carey Jr.'s tenure with the Chicago City Council provided a voice for the needs and concerns of many Afrikanas in Quinn Chapel and the Afrikana community-at-large. A.J. Carey Jr. introduced an ordinance (the Carey Ordinance) in 1949 for fair open housing legislation (the first of its kind in Chicago) that became the model for subsequent city open housing legislation. Carey Jr. also served as a Delegate (1953) to the Eighth General Assembly of the United Nations, and as Vice-Chairman (1955-57) and Chairman (1957-61) of President Dwight Eisenhower's Committee on Government Employment Policy. Archibald James Carey

Jr. later became a Judge of the Cook County Circuit Court in 1966 (Quinn Archives, Chicago Historical Society Archives, Quinn Historian, interview, 2000).

Self-Help and Entrepreneurship

Historically, Quinn Chapel has always encouraged its members to help and inspire other Afrikanas. That legacy has been preserved. Numerous businesses began and were encouraged at Quinn. The Famous Baldwin Ice Cream Company was founded by Kit Baldwin. He was a member of Quinn's Board of Trustees for many years. To ensure the success of other Afrikana entrepreneurs, Baldwin co-founded the Chicago Negro Chamber of Commerce now known as the Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce in 1933. (Pastor Archibald James Carey Jr. once served as Vice-Chairman of the organization.)

The Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce became a mainstay in the Afrikana community and is described as one of the first Afrikana business associations in the country and the oldest interracial business partnership. The Commerce provides services consisting of business management, loan packaging placement and assistance, business plan development, marketing strategies, financial analysis, marketing plans and certification assistance. It also offers additional services and workshops including: Electronic Commerce Resource Center (ECRC); School of Business Management; Business Formation Workshops; Mentor Protégé Program; Contracting Information; Construction Training; and Dispute Resolution.

Harry Joseph Carter Jr., active member of Quinn's Board of Trustee and Senior Usher Board, son of a Pullman Porter and founder of Carter Funeral Chapel (1957), fulfilled his father's dream of becoming a funeral director, beginning a tradition of "a family serving families," establishing a legacy of mentorship for Afrikanas. Judge Barber, also an active member, established Barber and Ivory Discount Values Furniture and Appliance store, the first Afrikana business in the 63rd & Halsted Street shopping area, in the 1960s (Interviews, 2000).

The late Pastor Archibald James Carey Jr. was a founding member (Illinois Service Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago) among fourteen courageous men who aspired to provide the Afrikana community with its own savings and loan association to effectively address their needs. During this era (1930s), inequities were not uncommon. Afrikanas experienced extreme difficulty securing mortgages when they could obtain one. In fact, it was practically impossible, for it was common practice for real estate companies, mortgage companies, banks and other lending institutions to conspire and engage in unfair practices. In 1934 their dream materialized and the Illinois Service Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago was established. (A.J.Carey Jr. later served as president of this savings and loan institution.) The Illinois Service Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago is currently the oldest Afrikana owned and operated savings and loan association in the Seventh Federal Reserve District (northern and central Illinois and Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa and Michigan). Its current assets are one hundred and fourteen million dollars (Chicago Historical Society Archives, Quinn Archives, Illinois Service Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago, 1978, 2000, interviews, 2000).

In conclusion, the essence of Quinn can be summarized by the following:

> Quinn Chapel African Methodist Church...has always influenced the total life of the city by its efforts to promote and develop an informed citizenry...Cognizant of the influence

> the church could have on public education, it has encouraged many of its sons and daughters to enter varied careers in the field of public education...Religious principals, as taught in the Church program, have undergirded the contributions of the many Quinnites who, through the years, have been associated at various times with the educational system. The impact of this group is continually being reflected in the lives of the children and adults they have served (Dixon in Quinn, 1967, p. 43).

Quinn Chapel has played a vital role in educating adults and has been a very focal point in the lives of the members of its congregation. Interviewees proclaimed that education was provided from the pulpit, political forums and civic affairs were an inherent part of their lived experiences in Quinn Chapel. Quinn has always stressed political activism and astuteness and civil obligation (e.g. voting). Politics from the pulpit was a common practice. Quinn has always been in the forefront of social movements and Afrikanas' struggle for social justice and taken an outspoken stance on events that adversely impact Afrikanas. Historically, Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church has provided political, social and spiritual inspiration and as well as grass roots activism to the Afrikana community. The current membership of Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church is prayerful that Quinn will return to its earlier prominence within the Afrikana community, and the community will embrace and support it.

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The Impact of Globalization on the South

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Abstract: A trip I made to Brazil last summer has caused me to reflect on the impact of globalization throughout the world focusing on some of the intended and unintended consequences of globalization. For this paper I will focus on the impact of globalization in Brazil in three areas; the globalization of education which is often referred to as internationalizing the curriculum, the globalization of business which is creating industries for the export market and lastly the globalization of communication via the internet and satellite television.

With the onset of global competition and markets, industry began demanding adequately trained professionals. Business schools realized they must adapt their teaching and research to the new international imperatives, such as intense international competition, the use of high technology, the re-alignment of labor and capital, thorny environmental issues and shifting markets. This adaptation is what is now called internationalizing the curriculum. This idea of internationalizing the curriculum can be seen throughout educational institutions today, and is not only evidenced in doctoral programs of business but also in doctoral programs of education. Each doctoral program is struggling to define what internationalizing means at their respective institutions. Some of the most common components are; students must acquire a cross-cultural perspective of business, they must know a foreign language and participate in an overseas experience. The purpose of these efforts is to create a curriculum that reflects the realities of global competition and meets student and business expectations.

It isn't just the industrialized countries that are changing their approach to education, however. All educators are constantly being reminded of the importance of educating students so they will be competitive in a world market. Just as the programs differ from institution to institution so may they be interpreted differently among countries. Developing countries are being buffeted by global economic change whereby they are attempting to adopt models from industrialized nations in an effort to internationalize curriculum and train future professionals.

This increased focus on international competition has left adult education, outside of those forms needed for market adjustment and maximization, increasingly on the sidelines. Funding for adult education has steadily decreased.

> Adult education which deals with the basic needs of women, the rural and urban poor, or which works on new directions within a community, is most often seen as the work of non-governmental organizations, local voluntary agencies, or simply not envisaged by the state. (Hall, 1996, p. 118).

I learned that is exactly what is happening to the adult education programs at the federal universities in Brazil.

History of Adult Education in Brazil

While on the trip, I was able to get an historical perspective of popular education as it was practiced and continues to be practiced in Brazil. In the Northeast, in particular at the Federal University of Paraíba, the adult education program began in 1976. It was a time when the university was growing, and it was the third largest university in the country. The university brought professors from other areas of Brazil as well as professors from other countries to create a graduate program. The political mood in the country at this time was one of renewed hope due to the fall of the military dictatorship. Educators had a vision of a new Brazil and adult education including continuing education was a top priority. This enthusiasm spawned the program to educate adults with the monetary support of UNESCO and its philosophy at the time to support and develop adult education programs in Latin America. The adult education programs that were formulated during this period had a direct relation to the political climate in the country. Within two years it became a permanent adult education program.

As these programs were being practiced, the focus of adult education would fluctuate between an emphasis on educating the marginalized adults in the cities and in the countryside to an emphasis on literacy as a developmental element for the country. By the 1980s there was much political activity coming from social movements, and many adult educators espoused the leftist philosophy of the social movements. It was at this time that popular education in Brazil shifted decidedly to a focus on the poor. It was a master program to train students who came from unions, community based programs, and church programs so they would be able to go back and work with the people in the community. These programs and degrees are very practical in nature. They are defined according to the student's own practice and context.

Internationalizing the curriculum

The struggle between different philosophies continued, however. And educators had to decide whether they wanted to work within the formal educational system or the non-formal one. By the end of the 1980s a radical popular education program was developed within the formal educational system at the Federal University of Paraíba. It became a model program known throughout Latin America. Educators realized that education is not neutral, and that literacy and continuing education serve as agents of change. By the late 1980s and the early 1990s this radical view of education is feeling the of the global market worldview. Some educators, along with certain sectors of Brazilian society, see globalization as a positive force. They promote the training of business leaders to either work with transnational corporations or work transforming national businesses to producing products for export. While other educators, usually those in education, humanities or law, become more involved in social movements for human rights, urban reform, and agrarian reform among others. This renewed activism is the direct result of the policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The strict policy of the IMF loan produced negative results for so many. It strangled small businesses, salaries, social directives and workers while it increased the profits of large private businesses.

This shift in government policy caused a crisis in adult education as radical educators retired and new professors espousing the benefits of globalization joined the ranks. Internal conflicts and power struggles within the program ensued. As a way to train people to be competitive in this new world market, the government instituted a national evaluation system. And the most devastating component of this system was the fact that the government decided to tie the amount of UNESCO funding a university would receive to their national evaluation score. The requirements for this system are mostly patterned after the higher education systems in Europe and to a lesser extent after the system in the United States. This new system is loaded with requirements for the professors and the students such as they must publish and go to conferences. Professors have to teach full time and direct 7-8 theses, only those educators with a Ph.D. can teach in the master's program and students must graduate in 24 months to name just a few of the mandates. Needless to say this notion of applying educational standards from the industrialized countries to the educational curriculum in a developing country like Brazil, has had a catastrophic impact on the adult education programs in the country. I liken this idea to attempting to pound a square peg into a round hole. Those most negatively impacted have been those universities in the Northeast where the majority of the students are poor. And the programs most significantly affected are the community based popular education projects. It is very difficult for academics working in the poorest regions of Brazil to meet the dictates of the national evaluation system which is based on an international framework. Therefore their evaluation scores have been low reducing the amount of funding they receive.

The stereotyped structural adjustment program (SAP) pattern since the 1980s for World Bank and IMF loans has been: "devaluation of the national currency plus trade deregulation plus cuts in public expenditure. This is supposed to put the state's finances in order so that it can repay its debts on time, and to promote private sector structures more compatible with the world market." (Wichterich, 2000, p. 111). What the current government in Brazil has done, in essence, is institute a SAP for the funding of education. It seems they feel the national educational system needs to be put in order so that it will be more compatible with the world market.

Teaching adults that education is not neutral, that education can function as an agent of change rather than a way to maintain the status quo is not a priority for those promoting globalization as the way of the future. Historically in Latin America the conservative elite has demonstrated a great capacity to organize and determine the direction of the state. This national evaluation system for education is yet another example of this capacity. When governments create an educational policy or a new program for education, there is also an underlying political agenda. Therefore when the government linked funding for popular education to the score a university received on the new national evaluation system the intended result was to be able to funnel more money to the universities in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paolo where the student body is comprised of mainly upper middle class and upper class students who are primarily interested in becoming competitors in the global market. While at the same time sending less money to universities that had strong popular education programs which promoted improving the lives of the poor and placed emphasis on the negative impact that globalization has had on these lives. By cloaking the funding decision under the guise of low evaluation scores, the government was able to mask the political element of the decision. Thus globalization in this case rewards the upper classes.

Globalization of the economy and the gendered division of labor

I once heard someone say, "the globalization of business from the top down by a few corporations is not democratic." That is so true. "As the 'wives, mothers, and nurturers of family and community , women are the principal architects of the domestic survival strategies of the popular classes. (Alvarez, 1990, p. 55). Poor and working class women are among the most directly and significantly affected by globalization and its ensuing regressive wage policies, rises in the cost of living, cuts in social welfare and educational expenditures and other consequences of the capitalist accumulation system dependent upon international loans and structural adjustment programs.

The migration of the rural population from the semi-arid region of the state of Pernambuco

to the irrigated, highly developed region of Petrolina where there are farms that grow fruit for export is a consequence of the globalization of business in Brazil. During the dry season rural families look for ways to mitigate the drought. The growth of the agroexport business has created a market for female laborers. The labor force in the fruit industry is 60% female. By employing women in the fruit and vegetable industry, the industry is able to cheapen its labor (Collins, 1995). According to Collins, the women hired in irrigated agricultural labor comprise a vulnerable population in the sense that they are even more needy (besides being women, they are migrants), they are willing to sell their labor and power and this benefits tremendously the capitalist sector. In Petrolina there are women who migrate unaccompanied and work as domestics, and there are women who migrate accompanied by their families to work in the fruit industry. One of the unintended consequences of this forced migration has been the decision of many women to remain in the city rather than return to the countryside. This has resulted in a high percentage of break ups within the family unit.

> Women prefer life in the city since the discrimination they face in the countryside is much greater. In the city they are visible to themselves, their relatives, the Laborers Union and even the capitalist sector through the wages they earn. They face exploitation, but of a less apparent kind than the pronounced discrimination they experience in rural areas and the severe pressures brought by the drought (de Melo Branco, 2000, p. 65).

Their relation to the global economy is clearly seen as they depend on the jobs they perform to survive in the city and to help those left behind. However, this newfound sense of self that they discover has caused them to become active in many types of grassroots movements. And this was not an intended consequence as far as proponents of a global economy are concerned. Public policies on women are mainly carried out at the state and municipal level in Brazil. This has allowed networking as a form of organization and a political strategy to become increasingly relevant throughout Brazil and the rest of Latin America. A rising gap between wages and cost of living as a result of the global economy has impacted all women, not just the poor. This has created the potential for cross-class alliances that could become the new agenda for a feminist movement. "A characteristic of the 1990s is the creation of national and regional networks of NGOs as well as other non governmental organizations working at national level." (Pitanguy, 1998, p. 108). A stronger national feminist movement that crosses class boundaries is another example of an unintended result of a globalized economy. In the case of women results are mixed. The negative impact that globalization has had on the lives of women has created a climate of solidarity among women from all sectors of society. This increased activism within the feminist movement is a positive result.

Global Communication

The Internet functions as a powerful aspect of globalization. Transnational companies needed to be able to communicate globally and without delay. So an international highway of communication called the Internet was created. However, access to this highway cannot be controlled and is available to everyone. For that reason the globalization of the Internet is somewhat more democratic.

However, the ability to distribute information is a resource, and as with any resource, "those groups whose values, status, and behavior patterns are already conducive to using a particular resource will be able to access and acquire it at a faster rate than others." (Merriam, Cunningham, 1989, p. 620). In the poorer, underdeveloped nations like Brazil the availability of computers is almost exclusively limited to the upper middle and upper classes. This suggests that the "information highway" has the potential of widening the gap between the wealthy and the poor.

But the situation is not entirely bleak as public universities, some public high schools and many non governmental organizations now have computers which gives a portion of the have-not population access to the more advanced communication technologies.

It allows the world to become one big culture circle where the sharing of biographies facilitates an appreciation of difference and the variety of experiences. The Internet provides a space for the articulation of oppression. Students, teachers, community activists around the world have become more aware of existing notions of culture, race, ethnicity and gender. As a result people around the world are beginning to have an increased awareness of gender oppression, and racial oppression, while also learning that certain cultural heritage has been written out of history. This opportunity for global networking and achieving mass awareness is a very powerful yet unintended result of globalization. In Brazil this mass awareness, coupled with the reduction of funding for popular education has sparked a renewed activism on the part of Afro-Brazilian students and some faculty of Adult Education. They are campaigning for a more diverse curriculum, which includes African history, religion and traditions, which are an integral part of Brazil. Research is being conducted which documents the Afro-Brazilian communities known as "terreiros" which to this day maintains their African traditions. This mass activism on the part of the poor and discriminated peoples of the world is yet another example of an unintended result of globalization.

The Internet has allowed for a renewed awareness of cultural diversity; a renewed awareness that the majority of the people in the world live in poverty and has created a revival of social activism on a global scale. International networking among non-governmental agencies, social movements and community activists is now possible creating the opportunity for worldwide solidarity in an effort to mitigate the negative impacts of globalization and provide a more equitable distribution of wealth around the world. It is a clearinghouse of information, which is being utilized by health care clinics, women's shelters, unions, the list is endless. Plus the Internet is a market place where poor women who have initiated cottage industries are able to market their products.

The colonial histories of the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean vary widely. This has created wide-ranging differences among nations. However, in spite of the many differences, there are patterns that bind this region together such as: their inability to meet the basic needs of the population, internal inequalities in income, employment, land ownership and control of resources, and high national and foreign debt. These structural patterns make these nations vulnerable in an international market and put them at a disadvantage when compared to the industrialized nations of the North.

Brazil is no exception. In conversations I had with Brazilians they expressed sentiments such as, "We are being brutally westernized by the media". It is true the cultural influences coming from the North to the South are much stronger and pervasive. Satellite television, films, tourism, Northern educational patterns are just some of the influences bombarding the populations of the South everywhere but in the most remote communities. Nonetheless the restructuring and redistribution of capital in a global economy is brutalizing Brazil in an even more significant way because the goal of globalization is "capital's eternal goal: the extraction of more surplus of workers' labour, and the further accumulation of capital." (Foley, 1999, p. 70). And the "workers who service the consumption needs of capital …..are predominantly female, ethnic, immigrant and people of the 'third world' ". (Hyman, 1991: 267-8, 271-2). For the working people of the world, in the North as well as the South, the shifting of markets has created a general sense of insecurity. "In the fierce undercutting that pits one country against another, 'globalized woman' is burnt up as a natural fuel…." (Wichterich, 2000, p. 167). Her function is the execution of unpaid and underpaid labor. This redistribution of work and power is not benefiting either the poor and excluded nor the mass of women. The renewed activism that the internet has spawned demonstrating that globalization has not been a success from which everyone benefits must continue both from the bottom and from the top in order to create a stronger civil society.

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Generating Knowledge from the Field: A Study of the Clinical Decisions of Social Workers

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Abstract: The theme for this tenth annual adult education research symposium is quite provocative. It is no small challenge for researchers to "count every voice." There are many barriers that often de-value some voices while giving primacy to the voices of those in positions of power. This paper will delineate the elements of a research design that enhanced the researcher's ability to preserve context and to incorporate the voices of practitioners from the field.

A deep chasm exists between the knowledge generated by academic institutions and the knowledge utilized by practitioners in the field. This gap has been well documented in the social work profession (cf.: Payne, 1991; Goldstein, 1990; Schön, 1987, 1983; and Rein and White, 1981). The existence of this chasm has been attributed to many forces throughout the development of the profession. A predominant influence is the adoption by the social work profession of the tenets of logical positivism in the quest for professional status. One outcome of this adoption has been the privileging of knowledge generated in academic institutions over knowledge that is generated in the field by practitioners (Goldstein, 1993; Goldstein, 1990).

This study examined the process of social work intervention with youth that have been identified as seriously emotionally disturbed (SED). Specifically, the study explored the factors that influenced clinical judgments and decision making from the perspective of the social worker. Intervention includes every act of the worker with and on behalf of the client. Intervention will be largely determined by the clinical judgments of the worker. Drawing from the methods of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Glaser and Strauss, 1967), the study examined the intervention process as it is experienced subjectively and behaviorally by the intervening social worker. Videotape and the method of Interpersonal Process Recall (IPR) (Kagan and Kagan, 1991) were utilized to capture the clinical process.

Clinical judgments and the decision making process:

Social workers make numerous decisions in the course of their everyday interactions with clients and on behalf of clients. Many factors influence practice decisions. Social workers may be guided by their theoretical orientation, the processes of supervision, agency mandates, or past experiences with clients in similar situations. One study of practice interventions by social workers found that as many as 100 events may precipitate one practice intervention (Sachs, 1991). Social workers must determine how the information that has been gleaned from multiple sources will interact in a manner that facilitates coherence and creates a unified account of the case that can guide the social workers' actions (Elstein, 1988).

Preserving Context:

This study placed practice and specifically, clinical decision making in context. The study was designed to preserve a great deal of the complexity of practice. Examining a case in context from the perspective of social workers respects the complexity of the world of practice and attempts to illuminate the perspective of the social worker regarding the meaning of the interactions between worker and client. The case is embedded in the context of the setting (the school). The agency context also influences the social workers' practice and actions within the cases. School social work within this setting allows the social worker regular access to the client and opportunities to interface with the client outside the "clinical hour" as well as the opportunity to be involved in the child's social environment.

Suspicions Regarding Voice:

A central feature of this study, was the researcher's desire to capture the decision making process from the perspective of the social workers. Specifically, the researcher asked workers to report on their experiences in interaction with the client. The workers' accounts were not intended to be measured against an a priori standard of sufficiency. In highlighting the subjective experience, the researcher acknowledges there may be apparent discrepancies between what social workers reported about their practice experiences and their observed experiences in practice.

> There is a curious twist to the charge that "what people say is not necessarily what they do." It implies that what people *do* is more important, more "real", than what they *say* or that if the latter is important it is important only for what it can reveal about the former. It is also as if the psychologist wanted to wash his hands altogether of mental states and their organization, as if to assert that "saying," after all, is *only* what one thinks, feels, believes, experiences. How curious that there are so few studies that go in the other direction: how does what one *does* reveal what one thinks or feels or believes? (Bruner, 1990, p. 17).

In considering verbal reports as a viable epistemology for accessing the subjective experience, this study did not assume a veridical relationship between the workers' narrative and actual cognitive processes that occurred while the worker acted in the session. Laboratory experiments in cognitive processing often presume veridicality and therefore, regard with suspicion the utility of introspection (Ericsson and Simon, 1980). Subjects often have difficulty identifying stimuli that influence subsequent behavior. In the absence of this ability to recall cognitive processes, subjects draw from a priori theories of plausible causation (Nisbett and Wilson, 1977). Both papers (Ericsson and Simon; and Nisbett and Wilson) concur that humans have a tremendous capacity to report on certain internal states including their emotions, focus of attention, sensations, evaluations, and plans. All of these elements are relevant for clinical decision making.

Sampling:

Sampling for this study was purposive. The time required for participation and demands of the study, particularly the use of video in session, required that potential participants be fully aware of the requirements and be willing to participate voluntarily. The researcher met with administrators and social workers to seek participants. Three sites and three social workers were ultimately selected. The design called for 3 social workers to select two clients (cases) for study (Total cases: N=6).

Grounded Theory:

Grounding the account of process in the data of a case requires constant comparison across units. The clients were students enrolled in a therapeutic day school setting and identified as SED. The clients also received individual counseling services from the social worker. This design generated two types of comparisons of practice. The workers were compared across cases (each worker selected two cases). The use of multiple workers (N=3) generated comparisons across cases, practice settings, and practice models. This goal was also consistent with the use of the constant comparison method of grounded theory. The cases were examined to delineate the complexity within each case, not to defend the typicality of this small sample of cases to work with SED clients in general.

Interpersonal Process Recall :

This study captured the phenomenological experience of the clinical process from the perspective of the social worker. To this end, Interpersonal Process Recall (IPR) was selected as a method for interviewing. IPR allows the worker to report on their subjective experience of a session while observing themselves in action (Elliot, 1984). IPR has been used extensively in counseling psychology process research with grounded theory (eg. Rennie, 1994; Watson and Rennie, 1994; Rennie, 1992; and Rennie, 1988). The videotapes that were created did not serve as a source of data to be analyzed, rather as a tool that was utilized by the social worker in the recall of the session.

This method respects the dynamic process of clinical work. Given the study did not assume the workers' understandings would be static, it was expected that discussing the case in the interview would elaborate/ extend the workers understanding of the case. The workers were asked to distinguish between thoughts and feelings that occurred in session versus those that were constructed in the interview. The account that was rendered by the social worker is temporal, constructed within a social context, and limited by the workers' understanding at this particular juncture in the history of the case.

Establishing the Validity of Voice:

Often researchers who conduct research in the field have been criticized for developing accounts of the research experience that do not reflect the experiences of the participants. A final member check was designed to allow the study participants an opportunity to review the findings at the level of greatest abstraction. The participants reviewed the findings and offered their feedback on the draft. All of the workers reported they felt the account reflected the interviews and their clinical work with SED students.

Summary:

It is the belief of this researcher that studies that examine the experience and practice of social workers should be "grounded" in the actual practice of social workers. This view has certainly been expressed by others (c.f. Goldstein, 1990). In spite of a well espoused guideline that practice and research should engage in more fruitful dialogue (Goldstein, 1990; Imre, 1991; 1985), some practitioners continue to express a frustration with the state of existing research on practice and the utility of such knowledge for practice (Coady, 1995; DeMartini and Whitbeck, 1987; and Carew, 1979).

> We have conventionalized the organization of human social life to make a sharp distinction between two groups of people. On the one hand, we have active people-social workers, teachers, planners, administrators-who are concerned with making things happen. On the other hand, we have another group of people whom we generally designate as people of knowledge. We locate their activities in university or research settings. These take as their primary task the search for knowledge about people, institutions, and societies and how they interact. We believe that something that passes from the knowing group to the acting group will make actors better able to carry out their social functions (Rein and White, 1981, pp. 1-2).

The inductive nature of this study, the exploration of the "swampy lowland" (Schön, 1983), and the grounding of the account of the workers in their actual acts of practice are the features of this design that preserve the complexity of social work practice with a challenging client population. These features also place the voices of the practitioners at the center of research. These techniques offer researchers rich resources for building practice models with utility for practitioners on the ground and in the academy.

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An Analysis of the Moynihan Report: A New Look in the New Millennium

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Abstract: The plight of the Black family has been a steady topic of research and scrutiny since the turn of the century. The Black family has been extensively studied to gain a better understanding of its makeup and complexity. These studies have analyzed Black families from slavery up to the present in order to determine what forces impact its existence and its resilience to survive under extreme hardships.

Black people overall have been studied for numerous sociological purposes. Two particularly well known studies that come to mind by two renowned Black sociologists are: " The Philadelphia Negro", in 1899, by W.E.B. DuBois, and "The Black Bourgeoisie", in 1957 by E. Franklin Frazier. These two studies took a broad approach to specific groups of Blacks, touching on Black families within these particular groups. Another sociological study, geared specifically toward the Black family, was by Black sociologist Andrew Billingsley, "Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Enduring Legacy of African-American Families", in 1992. But all of these studies combined don't have the impact or the controversy behind them as does the report "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action", better known as the Moynihan Report by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

The Moynihan Report was completed in March 1965, a product of the Office of Policy Planning and Research of the Department of Labor. At the time, Daniel Patrick Moynihan was Assistant Secretary of Labor. He wrote the report in conjunction with two staff members. The initial intent of the report was to use social science to assist the government in identifying problems and drafting policy for solutions to these problems, targeted specifically toward the Negro. What the report actually accomplished was to create dissension between the federal government and many organizations that were committed to bringing equality to the Negro. "Many of those who attacked the report saw in it the same patronization of the black that has characterized our culture for hundreds of years" (Kovel, 1984, p.39).

The essence of the Moynihan Report involved the following main assertions:

1. The deterioration of the Negro family is demonstrated by the facts (a) nearly a quarter of urban Negro marriages are dissolved; (b) nearly one quarter of Negro births are now illegitimate; (c) as a consequence, almost one fourth of Negro families are headed by females, and (d) this breakdown of the Negro family has led to a starling increase in welfare dependency. Why should this be so?

2. Moynihan found "the roots of the problem" in slavery, in the effects of reconstruction on the family and particularly, on the position of the Negro man, in urbanization, in unemployment and poverty, in the wage system that often does not provide a family wage. He noted that the dimensions of all of these problems are growing because of the high fertility of Negroes (for example, the Negro population and labor force will be increasing twice as fast as that of whites between now and 1970).

3. Having demonstrated that the socioeconomic system, past and present, produces an unstable family system for Negroes, he went on to discuss "the tangle of pathology" in the Negro community (a phrase borrowed from social-psychologist Kenneth Clark's description of Harlem ghetto life). This tangle of pathology involves the matriarchy of the Negro family (by which he meant the tendency for women to fare better interpersonally and economically than men and thereby to dominate family life), the failure of youth (by which he referred to the fact that Negro children do not learn as much in school as white children and that they leave school earlier), higher rates of delinquency and crime among Negroes, the fact that Negroes disproportionately fail the Armed Forces qualification test (and that this suggests their poor competitive position in the job market as well), and the alienation of Negro men which results in their withdrawal from stable family-orientated society, in higher rates of drug addition, in despair of achieving a stable life (Rainwater & Yancy, 1967, p.6).

These three main points had an incendiary affect on those who read them in the report, especially the Black populace. "The study itself was not particularly original either in its analysis or in its policy recommendations" (Platt, 1991, p.112). The Moynihan Report was perceived as an outright, blatant attack upon the Black family—especially the impoverished ones. " Consequently, if a researcher wanted to study why the Black family was unstable, then he would have a tendency to study a lower class community rather than a community where his hypothesis might not be supported" (Kershaw, 1990, p.20). Little mention was made of the burgeoning Black middle class of the 1960's, which alarmed many. The unfortunate depiction of the Black underclass Moynihan referenced in his report gave the nation a negative perception of all Black people; not just the poor ones.

Black leaders in the civil rights movement expressed dismay over the main theme of the report, which seemed to predict the demise of the Black family. The report being an official government document had some troubled by its implications. Was the federal government endorsing the principles put forth in the Moynihan Report on the viability of the Black family? Numerous Black civil rights leaders were troubled about the issuance of the report to the public because it appeared to give governmental sanction to the negative findings concerning the Black family. The Moynihan Report helped to drive a wedge between movement leaders and government officials and exacerbated the dilemma as to how best to solve America's "Negro Problem".

Part of the whole controversy behind the Moynihan Report was its widespread distribution to the media. No one was more surprised than Moynihan himself. Initially the report was intended for in-house governmental use only and was being distributed to a few people within the Department of Labor and the White House. When references were made to the "Negro Problem" in a speech by President Lyndon B. Johnson at Howard University's commencement exercises in May, 1965, this information was gleaned from the Moynihan Report. Howard's graduation was the first public release of data taken from the report, which peaked the media's interest. The report started circulating among other governmental agencies outside of the Department of Labor and the White House when word of its content became known. The United

States Printing Office began receiving numerous requests from outside sources (i.e. the media, organizations) for the Moynihan Report, that its confidential classifications was lifted and the report was put into general circulation.

Once the Moynihan Report became widespread outside of the confines of the Federal government, it became susceptible to harsh, adverse criticism. Different people and organizations viewed it from various perspectives, mostly negative. During the latter half of 1965, the media reported the many perspectives from government, private industry, Black, Whites, the middle class, the poor, the elite and hoi polloi. Black civil rights leaders voiced strong opposition to the report because they had viewed the federal government as an advocate and ally of the Negro people, not as the opposition. If the Negro people couldn't turn to the federal government for assistance in championing their rights, where could they turn?

Some aspects of the Moynihan Report were misinterpreted whereas other aspects were interpreted accurately. Moynihan's intentions were good, but his method as evidenced by the tone and content of the report bearing his name didn't reinforce that impression. Moynihan was trying to show, through the report, his concern for the economic condition of the Negro so that they would be able to take full advantage of America's opportunities. These opportunities, he felt, were limited by the dismal economic condition of the Negro people in 1965. According to Moynihan, civil rights legislation was not enough to improve the plight of the Negro and only through the concerted effort of economics and legislation could effective change be made.

Having the benefit of 35 years of hindsight, after the initial release of the report, can give one the benefit of reflective analysis. Having this benefit, I can honestly say that there were some accurate predictions made in the Moynihan Report, but also some flawed points were made too. It's commendable that Moynihan had the foresight and insight in 1965 to recognize that economics was a valid means of improving the standard of living for Negroes. Federal civil rights legislation was necessary to legally outlaw discrimination and segregation, but lasting change would come through better economic conditions. Moynihan's thesis was that equality, gained through better education and jobs, to bring Negroes up to a higher standard of living, would enable them to compete more effectively with Whites. Any discrimination could be handled by federal legislation outlawing these practices.

In a sense, Moynihan was right. The Black middle class increased tremendously since 1965 with many taking full advantage of the opportunities that the civil rights legislation of the 1960's provided. Like any other ethnic group, the Blacks who benefited most from these opportunities were the ones who were educated and skilled. "Education is the traditional opportunity through which black families find their places in life" (Billingsley, 1992, p.172). Their education and vocations provided them with well-paying jobs that propelled them into the middle class. For others who fell into the non-skilled labor pool, blue-collar jobs in automobile factories steel mills and meat packing plants afforded them a chance at middle class status. But unfortunately for these workers, when these industries shut down or downsized due to foreign competition or new technology, they were left jobless or unable to find employment at comparable salary levels. The end of these high paying, blue-collar industries resulted in a shift in many Black neighborhoods from economic stability to borderline poverty. "The future of the Negro middle class will depend of course, upon the role of this class in American economic life" (Frazier, 1939, p.333). These Moynihanian predictions became true and offered validity to his theory of progress tied to economics.

Once these jobs disappeared, other worthwhile jobs did not materialize, leaving many Black communities in dire straits. But close scrutiny of this problem indicates that the fault lay with businesses that were more concerned with cutting costs than saving jobs. Some Black communities that were once thriving are now decimated and struggling to recover. Joblessness has contributed to broken homes, unstable families and neighborhood decline. Therefore, there is some credence to Moyhihan's theory on the decline of the Black community. But in all fairness any other ethnic community that had lost its economic base would probably suffer the same fate.

A major source of criticism surrounding the report was Moyhihan's analysis of the Black family, especially its women. In the report Moynihan asserts that the problem with the Black family stemmed from the female. "According to Moynihan, white society has forced the Black community into a matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of line with white America's patriarchal family system, retards the progress of the Black community as a whole" (Staples, 1973, p.27). She was highly fertile, producing too many children especially illegitimate ones causing welfare dependency. Also Moynihan's report depicted Black women as emasculating toward Black men in their role as husband and/or father, which cast them in an entirely negative light. Moynihan seemed disturbed by the Black family for being matriarchal in nature and questioned if this was the reason behind its poverty.

In this aspect of his analysis, Moynihan shows his naiveté' relative to the structure surrounding the Black family. Most Black families are matriarchal in nature whether a man is or is not present. Black women usually run and rule their households. Within the Black culture, the female (especially an older, wise woman who would function as the family's matriarch) holds an esteemed position within the family structure. It is an understood and accepted practice within the Black culture. Negro women in 1965 who headed households were a continuation of a long line of women who had performed these very same functions before them.

As to the question of female-based poverty, Moynihan asserts that this is a major problem with the Negro family. He does acknowledge that Negro women have an easier time gaining employment compared to their men but he is missing a significant point. Most women, regardless of color, have wages lower than men in any employment category. This fact held true for Negro women in 1965. With inadequate wages, they would have problems supporting their families. It is unfair to blame them for this dilemma, when it is not one of their own making. The vestiges of racism and economics are still being felt today, 35 years after the initial Moynihan Report. Part of the current problem with welfare reform is that it places or leaves women in low paying, dead end jobs therefore keeping them in poverty. So, as Moynihan predicted, the poverty cycle continues, aided and abetted by society and governmental policy in the guise of welfare reform.

There is no denying that the Moynihan Report was controversial in its day, and rightly so due to some of its implications. But the initial intent of the report was to publicize the plight of the Negro family on the premise that corrective action through economics and governmental intervention would help to solve the problem. "Perhaps the major contribution of the Moynihan report is that it brought to the attention of scholars, of planners as well as of the general public, the fact that Negro families are an important part of the national life" (Billingsley, 1968, p.214).

Moynihan was partly right, but institutional racism has systematically prevented overall improvement for Black people in education, employment housing, etc. to the detriment of not only Blacks, but also the entire nation. Moynihan was justified in his concern for the Negro in 1965, but 35 years of hindsight has shown that it is going to take a concerted effort, more governmental policy, economic reform and societal change to prevent Black people from continuing the cycle of poverty for another 35 years or more.

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Blacks in the Old West

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Introductions

When we watch old western movies and television shows or read western novels, all the main characters good or bad are white. We as Blacks were taught that's the way the real west was. As children we grew up playing cowboys and Indians, yet the cowboys we imitated were all white. One day as a child on summer vacation at my maternal grandparents, I saw a picture of a Black man dressed in ten gallon hat, chaps, six shooters, and with a horse. I asked my grandfather who was the person in the picture, and he told me that it was him years ago. He explained to me that when he was a young man he was a cowboy in Mississippi, this caused me to wonder if there were other Black cowboys.

After that summer, I never really thought about Black cowboys again. It was not until I was in high school and I ran across a book titled "The Negro Cowboys" that my interest peaked again. Blacks were present on every frontier. They traveled alongside of, independently of, or sometimes a little ahead of Columbus, Ponce de Leon, Chief Osceola, Davy Crockett, Billy the Kid, Bat Masterson, Sitting Bull, Wyatt Earp, and Will Rogers. They are mentioned in explorers' diaries, government reports, frontier newspapers, pioneers' reminiscences and letters. They appear in sketches by artists Charles Russell and Frederick Remington, and the early camera work of civilian and military photographers.

The Move West

Blacks were in every part of early American history, and they were explorers, pioneers, slaves, cowboys, lawmen, outlaws, and soldiers. Before I look at Blacks in the old west, we need to look at how Blacks came to be in the west. Blacks arrived many different ways. Some came with the early Spanish explorer(blunders) looking for fame and fortune. Others were slaves who in escaping to freedom went west instead of north, or those who had escaped to Indian tribes in the area where they were enslaved.

There have always been blacks in the west, beginning with the importation of slaves by the Spanish in the 15th century. "Estevanico, a Spanish slave from the west coast of Morocco, was a member of an unfortunate party of four hundred explorers who landed near Tampa Bay in 1528. After a series of disasters, all of the party was lost except Estevanico, his master and two companions, who were marooned on the Texas coast. They were enslaved by Indians and spent seven years freeing themselves and making their way across Texas and Mexico to the frontier of New Spain."(Durham and Jones, p. 65).

Blacks and Indians

More than two hundred years later, Negroes and Negro-Indian families helped to found what is now the largest city in the West. Their settlement was established to grow food for the military, and it was called El Pueblo de Nuestra Senora La Reina de Los Angeles. Blacks were also among the first settlers in the colonies of New Mexico. A black also went with Lewis and Clark on their expedition. Blacks also intermingled with local Indian tribes, they were called slaves but were allowed to intermarry and even become chiefs of tribes. They joined tribes such as the Seminole or the Five Civilized Tribes. When the government transplanted the Five Civilized Tribes west on the trail of tears, many Blacks and Indians died on the way.

Mountain Men and Fur Traders

Blacks were also trappers, fur traders, and mountain men. One of my favorite example of the white washing of blacks in the west, is "Jim Beckwourth a black mountain man adopted by the Crow Indians, who discovered the Beckwourth pass through the Rocky Mountains" (Katz, 31), but if you watch the movie based on his life he's white. "Another famous Black fur trader was George Bonga, in Leech Lake, Minnesota. The Bonga family left hundreds of descendant and had a township of Bongo named after them."(Katz, p. 28).

Cowboys

The very word "cowboy" was initially only applied to Black men who took care of cows. Similarly, black men who worked in the house were called "house boys." Joseph G. McCoy created the need for cowboys when he established a market and railroad-shipping center at Abilene, Kansas. Once the marketplace for buyers and sellers of cattle was created, cattlemen had only to get their herds from Texas into Abilene, Kansas. An average herd of twenty-five hundred cattle was usually managed by some cattle crews of at least eleven men: including the trail boss, eight cowboys, a wrangler, and a cook.

Approximately one third of the cowboys on the cattle drives were Black. Now they are forgotten, but once they rode all the trails, driving millions of cattle before them. Some died in stampedes, some froze to death, some drowned. They numbered thousands, among them many of the best riders, ropers and wranglers. Most of them lived through the long cattle's drives to Abilene, to Dodge City, Ogallala. Many of them drove onto the farthest reaches of the northern ranges, to the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana. They rode the trail side by side with white Texans, Mexicans, and Indians. This was the make up of the old west real cowboys. They ate the same food and slept on the same ground, they also shared the same jobs and dangers.

Nevertheless, once cowboys became the heroes of western novels, movies, and later television, black people totally disappeared from the old west.

Famous Black Cowboys

There were many famous Black cowboys in the old west. One of the most famous was Nat Love, better known as "Deadwood Dick." In his autobiography, he states that on July 4, 1876, he entered and won several roping and shooting contests in Deadwood City in the Dakota Territory and he reports: after winning right there the assembled crowed named me Deadwood Dick. Eventually he gave up cowboying and became a Pullman porter.

Other famous cowboys were Jim Perry, an all-round cowboy, cook and fiddler who worked on the XIT ranch. Another was "One Horse Charley" was the nickname of a noted black cowboy who rode with the Shoshone Indians. It is really odd that the top of the line Stetson hat bears the name Charley One Horse. I wonder if they even know who Charley One Horse was. Britton Johnson, known as the best shot on the Texas frontier. Then there was Jesse Stahl, a bronco buster known as the best rider of wild horses in the west. Hardly anyone has ever heard of Bose Ikard one of the top trail hands on cattle drives. Finally there was Charley Glass, of Colorado cowpuncher, bronco buster, and ranch foreman and Bill Pickett a rodeo showman who invented "bulldogging."

Famous Black Women

Most of us have never heard of the pioneering Black women of the old west. Such women as Edmonia Lewis the first famous black sculptress in America or Aunt Clara Brown, entrepreneur, nurse, community leader and organizer in Central City, Colorado. Then there was Biddy Mason, who as a slave, walked from Mississippi to California keeping her master's cattle from roaming. Cleverly she negotiated her freedom when her master chose to return to Mississippi. She gained wealth through her labors and investments. She became a well-known philanthropist.

There was also Mary Ellen Pleasant, a civil rights activist in California and the most famous Black woman of the old west, Mary Fields known as "Stagecoach Mary." She was a laundress, mail carrier, gunfighter, and brawler. Mary was known to bet men a gold dollar that she could knock them out with one punch, and I never heard of her losing that bet.

Black Outlaws

Beside being cowboys, blacks were also some of the meanest outlaws around. There was Ben Hodges, a Dodge City con man, forger, card cheat, and rustler. Even though an outlaw the local citizens admired him, when he died he was buried in Boot Hill. When the city was asked why he was buried with famous people of the city, their reply was so they could keep an eye on him. The town built a statue of him.

Then there was Isom Dart, a notorious cattle rustler. Isom tried going straight at least five times, yet he never succeeded. Isom was reportedly killed during an attempted cattle rustling by Tom Horn a famous bounty hunter, shot in the back. There was the Rufus Buck Gang, consisting of mixed Creek Indians and Blacks. This gang committed more crimes in thirteen days than the Starr and Dalton gangs combined. They were capture and they all were hanged together.

The most infamous Black outlaw of them all was Crawford "Cherokee Bill" Goldsby. He was born to a Black father and a Cherokee mother, at Fort Concho, Texas. During the summer of 1894, Goldsby joined up with two noted outlaws Jim and Bill Cook also being mixed blood Cherokees. Cherokee Bill and his gang had a reign of terror that lasted from July 1894 to September 1894 in the Cherokee and Creek Nations.

Cherokee Bill was charged with seven to fourteen murders, and many times he killed for no reason. Lawmen were weary about trying to apprehend him because it was said he could shoot faster than two ordinary men. In using a rifle they said he could shoot the eye out of a squirrel as far as he could see and could shoot from the waist and hardly ever miss.

Cherokee Bill was capture in a trap set by one of his girlfriends' Maggie Glass at her uncle Ike Rogers' cabin. While bending over to light a cigarette, Ike clubbed him in the back of the head. He was handcuffed and taken to the federal jail in Fort Smith, Arkansas. He was taken before Judge Isaac Charles "Hanging Judge" Parker. Judge Parker sentenced Cherokee Bill to be executed on June 25, 1895.

While being held in jail awaiting his hanging, he attempted to break out of prison, someone had gotten a gun to him, he held the jail under siege until Henry Starr the grandson of outlaw Tom Starr talked him out of it. There was a second trial again convicted this time he was sentenced to hang on September 10, 1895. After all appeals were done, the date was changed to March 17, 1896. It is reported that while on the gallows he was asked if he had any last words, he replied that "I came here to die, not make a speech." Does that sound familiar from western movies you may have seen? So ended the life of one of the old west most notorious outlaws.

Lawmen

Not only were Blacks outlaws, but they were also lawmen. One was a Black deputy U.S. marshal named Charles Pettit. Pettit has been described as, the colored deputy marshal, the terror of the territory but one of the best known and trusted and good-natured men, a man that fears neither man nor devil, is in the city. Charlie Pettit is at the same time the most gentle, well-disposed fellow in the territory. He is colored, it is true, but a great genius could build a romance of his life that beats all the "yellow backs" that were ever written. He could be made out to be fiction - and in truth, too - as the "Black Terror of the Territory."

Rufus Cannon received a deputy marshal commission on September 15, 1892, from Judge Issac C. Parker's court for the Indian Territory. Cannon was most known as the posseman who shot and killed Doolin. Later the story was changed to state that Thomas Heck had actually killed Doolin. Beside Doolin Cannon was responsible for numerous arrests in the Indian Territory. Rufus Cannon died in Kansas City, Missouri at the age of 105.

Then there is Bass Reeves, Deputy United States Marshal, who also rode for Judge Issac C. Parker. Parker considered Bass Reeves a good man for a tough job of a Deputy U.S. Marshal. Reeves had once boasted that he knew Indian Territory "like a cook knows her kitchen" and as a result of his skill and his knowledge of the territory, he was able to make substantial sums as a scout and tracker for peace officer. His service included enforcement of everything from petty misdemeanors to murder.

Reeves is believed to be the first Black deputies commissioned west of the Mississippi River, Reeves served longer than any Deputy U.S. Marshal on record in the Indian Territory and during his thirty-five-year tenure, he acquired a reputation as "one of the best deputy marshals to ever work out the Fort Smith Federal Court."

Reeves always wore a large black hat with a straight trim that was slightly upturned in the front. Old-timers said he often carried his guns in many different ways. He was particularly noted for wearing two Colt revolvers, calibrated for the .38-.40 cartridge, butts forward for a fast draw. It didn't matter that he was ambidextrous. Bass Reeves always got the job done. When the Colts pressed into service, he used his fine Winchester rifle, chambered for the same .38-.40 cartridge. He was an expert with pistols and rifles that later in his life, he wasn't even allowed to compete in turkey shoots because his skills were far superior to any competition.

By 1901, Reeves had arrested more than three thousand men and women in his service as deputy marshal. But no manhunt was harder for Reeves than the one involving his own son. Although Reeves was visibly shaken by this tragedy, he demanded to take the warrant. He told

Bennett it was his responsibility to bring his son in even though he knew it would be the toughest, saddest manhunt he was ever involved in. When Bass Reeves died, January12, 1910, the Muskogee Phoenix wrote of the legendary lawman:

> Bass Reeves is dead. He passed away yesterday afternoon about three o'clock and in a short time news of his death had reached the federal courthouse where it recalled to the officers and clerks many incidents in the early days of the United States in which the old Negro deputy figured heroically.

Homesteaders

Blacks were homesteaders all throughout the old west. They migrated to Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Oklahoma, and other western states. Blacks were some of the first settlers of California, Oklahoma, and the New Mexico Territory. Many Blacks migrated as a way to escape slavery. Even after the end of slavery the treatment of Blacks in the south was still very harsh. Many Black cities pop up all over the west, and some didn't survive because of the racism of neighboring white cities. The one that did survive, survived because they were adequately separated from white cities. Some of the most prosperous cities in the old west were located in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. One of the largest towns was the city of Boley, Oklahoma, founded by blacks.

Buffalo Soldiers

After the Civil War Blacks did win permanent right to serve in the U. S. Army. The organization of black regiments was authorized by Congress in 1866 in response to the need for pacification of the West and to the fine record established by black troops during the Civil War. The troopers of the Ninth and Tenth Regiments, comprising 20 per cent of the U. S. Cavalry in the West. They patrolled from the Mississippi to the Rockies, from the Canadian border to the Rio Grande, and sometimes crossed into Mexico in hot pursuit of outlaws or Indians.

Many white officers refused to serve with black troopers. But there were some white officers considered it a honor to lead these black troops. Officers like Lieutenant Pershing, who led the Tenth Cavalry up San Juan Hill along side Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders. Another Medal of Honor winner, Captain Louis Carpenter, complained that his regiment received nothing but broken-down horses and repaired equipment.

The Ninth Regiment quickly earned a reputation for always arriving in the nick of time to rescue settlers or other troopers pinned down by outlaws or Indian. Also, among blacks serving in the military were the Seminole Negro Indian Scouts. These scouts were skilled-tracker and with excellent frontier fighting skills.

These black soldiers and scouts earned praises as well as racism from the people they protected. Most saw them as blacks first and soldiers secondly. They were discriminated against not only by the civilians but also by the military and the government. But those who fought by their side knew that they were valiant and fearless fighters in any battle.

Critique

Why should we care or even want to know about Blacks in the old west? When we study the history of America, we need to see a complete picture. Without the inclusion of all minorities and their contribution to the American historic fabric, we see a blemished picture. With this inclusion of Blacks in the old west we get a more accurate and truer portrait of what life was like during that time period. This understanding can assist in bring different cultures together by seeing that America is not as racist as it seems by correcting the records of our history. This information will increase self-esteem among Blacks and reflections on their needs. Everyone should know that America is a country that was built on the shoulders of Blacks, and how they contributed to the fiber and culture of America. American history and culture were written from the dominated culture point of view. Whatever has happen in America from its founding to this present day Blacks have had a part in it. We must remember every culture that came or was brought to America is a piece of the American puzzle.

Conclusion

So remember the next time you watch a western movie and you see the calvary arrive in the nick of time most times it was the Ninth or Tenth Calvary. One third of all the cowboys who rode the cattle drives from Texas to Kansas where blacks. Some of the most famous outlaws and lawmen were blacks. Blacks founded twenty-five towns in Oklahoma, and in other states. The history of the old west has been whitewashed of Blacks. In the movies the will portrait Mexicans, Indians, and even Chinese. If you did see a Black in a movie, it was in a servant role. It was just lately that blacks were given their real position in western movies. Everywhere that whites were in the West, blacks were there too. Unlike the old black and white western movies, the real west was in Technicolor.

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The Relationship Between Poverty and Adult Literacy: Highlights of the Pilot Study of Poor, Urban Single Mothers in Gaborone, Botswana

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Abstract: This paper is a critique of the Modernization discourse. Despite massive economic boom that Botswana experienced since independence in 1966, economic growth has not trickled down to eliminate poverty for single women. Single women are amongst the groups hardest hit by poverty in Botswana (Botswana Society, 1997; Presidential Task Force, 1997; UNDP, 1998.

Theoretical framework

The feminist and literacy theoretical framework informed this case study. According to this framework, poverty is related to illiteracy and gender inequalities. Women identified illiteracy as both a cause and an aggravator of poverty, but they were not able to identify gender inequalities. Women's illiteracy predisposes them to poverty because there are very limited job opportunities for non- literates. Existing literature associates poverty in Botswana with gender inequalities (Jefferies, 1997; Good, 1999). Women are at a disadvantage in employment preference and application of maintenance and inheritance laws. Women in Botswana can neither be employed in certain departments of the Botswana Defense Force nor in the mines for underground work. Laws on maintenance of minor children born within and outside marriage are very lenient and often not enforced. The burden of childcare therefore falls on single women who are usual custodians of minor children.

Methodology

I used qualitative methodology for this study to gain internal, in-depth understanding of poverty as experienced by women living in it, rather than quantitative descriptions of poverty as documented by government and experts employed by international agencies.

My role as a principal researcher involved gaining entry, sampling, and establishing rapport with gatekeepers and research participants to jointly produce data. (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Christians, 2000). I had to explain informed consent forms and had them signed prior to each interview. I negotiated entry with departments responsible for the National literacy Program and Social Welfare before I could meet the women.

All women were interviewed as individuals, and as members of the focus group. The main data collection methods were interviewing, observation of household facilities and reading of relevant documents. As I listened to participants, I had my own biases that I brought into the study.

Sample

I used purposive sampling to select the women. The criterion for selection of the urban poor was: 1) Women had to first consider themselves poor; 2) Women had to be literate or participating in literacy as learners in primers one to five or the ABEC course; 3) Motherhood: having their own or adopted children; 4) Single: never married, widowed, divorced, separated, and not cohabiting with any intimate male friend, and residing in Old Naledi.

Three of the four women were in the Adult Basic Education Course (ABEC) at the time of the pilot interviews. The fourth one was last in the literacy program in 1985. I added her because there were only three women in the ABEC course, and I needed four women with similar characteristics.

Sampling

Purposive sampling comprised three strategies. With guidance from the DNFE, I went to the ABEC beginning 6 p.m each night on weekdays to identify women for the pilot study. Literacy group leaders for Old Naledi helped me identify the four women. I recorded their home numbers so I could identify them and make follow-up interviews as necessary. With each interviewee I had to decide on the best times and places to meet.

Validity and reliability

To establish trustworthiness and credibility, I used a variety of data collection methods: in-depth interviews audited by professionals at the University of Botswana, direct observation of household facilities, reading and rereading documents. I asked one of the professionals at the university of Botswana to check the interview guide and translations for accuracy and consistency. Using a multiplicity of data collection methods enabled me to access multiple sources of evidence.

Fieldwork

To interview women, I had to go through gatekeepers who worked at their own pace to enable me to access information. The first two weeks of August passed before I could start my work. I had to do some paperwork to facilitate access.

I had to practice consistency in interviewing since I had to translate questions from English to Setswana. Each interview question contained both the Setswana and English version. The answers were written in Setswana and I later translated them into English using a copy of the same interview schedule.

Adult learners are voluntary participants with very busy schedules so I had to work within their time frame rather than the one I had set for myself. Three women attending ABEC started at 6 p.m. – 7:30 p.m. each night on weekdays and I proceeded to their homes after class because, except for Kego who was not working, the three women were not available during the day. I therefore had to meet them at school for interviews, and then do an observation of their homes later. Most of the interviewing work was possible to do at night on weekdays rather than during the day or on weekends.

Findings

Research setting and context

Old Naledi has a Community Development office used for literacy classes and other community activities. This office proved to be very useful to me as a central place for meeting relevant government officials and women who participated in the pilot study. I arranged to meet women at the centrally located community center to make sure I did not get lost while trying to identify their homes in an overcrowded outskirt of Gaborone city.

Within the hall and around its premises were different entertainment groups; drama, singing and dance groups that met around the community center premises. Old Naledi is potentially a high-risk area for crime, thieves and juvenile delinquents. It did not appear safe for me to work near the community center at night but I had no choice since I could not meet all the interviewees during the day. Both adults and children of school going age were roaming about from all directions at night. Outside the fence of the hall were street vendors selling cooked food, fat cakes, sweets, fruits, drinks and vegetables. The music they were playing every night was very loud, probably to attract customers. Some of the children and youth were dancing to that music while others were idling, smoking, drinking local brews, and staring everywhere and possibly had appointments and were waiting to meet their friends. Indeed the Old Naledi community hall (and its surroundings) was a place full of nighttime activities.

Description of participants for the pilot study

Since poverty includes both the physical and invisible characteristics, it was important for me to document bio-data for each of the participants.

Name/Age	Indications of poverty	Occupation and source of income.	Education	No. of children and dependents	Total household size
Mmereki, 45years	No assets	Domestic worker	Primer 5	2	3
Dika, 29years	No one to help	Cleaner	Std 1 /ABEC	2	3
Badu, 31years	Employed but suffering	Cleaner	Std 4/Primer 5.	3	4
Kego, 26years	Not working.	Not working	Std 7 dropout	3	4

Common themes

Poor and single

The four women were single, (never married) literate, had children, had no resources and considered themselves poor. Women said they were poor because the kind of education they had would not help them go beyond reading and writing.

Total expenses ranged from a minimum of P400.00 to a maximum of P800.00 for the most essential consumption requirements. By contrast, women's monthly salaries ranged from a minimum of P300.00 to a maximum of P500.00 per month. (Approximately U.S. $60.00-100.00 at current rate). This was very modest because richer families would spend more than that. However, it was far below the government of Botswana minimum wage (P600.00) required for basic expenditures. Women said rent and medical expenses were the highest. What complicated their poverty process was that they could not predict illness; hence illness could set in anytime even when they did not have cash to pay for consultation and specialist medical treatment. Marriage, rent free housing and having a brother to assist with raising children would help women.

Women had a high dependency ratio but none of the women said they owned any major assets except for Dika who said she had a few goats. Like most Botswanas, she was reluctant to say actual the numbers. All four women were not receiving any welfare from the Gaborone City Council.

Common constraints that women were facing were lack of decent jobs lack of cash and employment opportunities, having neither husbands nor male figures to cater for their needs, and occasionally, poor health. Women said they were poor but still had to look after their children. Poverty was synonymous with extreme suffering, and inner emotional pain. Their dream was to give their children some education so that they can one day be independent and feed themselves.

Understanding and perceptions of poverty

Women's experiences, opinions and perceptions of poverty were very similar. Lack of cash income, inadequate education and poor health were the most important descriptors of poverty. Without money, there was nothing women could afford. I probed and asked them why money was so important. They all agreed:

> Money is very important. If one does not have money, there is no decent living. There is nothing you can do or buy. Your children cannot have any decent life. There is nothing one can do without money. (Focus group discussion with women, August 23rd 2000. Old Naledi Community Center: Gaborone).

All four women believed that poverty could be eradicated through literacy, job creation and good salaries. However, women were not able to indicate what level of salary was good enough for poverty eradication. Reading and writing were perceived good for women to earn cash and use it to better look after their children. To women, the government of Botswana should be the main job provider for all citizens.

Women measured wealth in terms of ownership of livestock (Cattle, sheep, goats, housing for sale or lease); prospects of employment and hiring people to work for you; the ability to give children decent education, clothing and feeding fees. In sum, women mentioned material indicators of wealth as signs of wealth. Besides differences in ownership of assets and wealth, for all of the women, there was nothing that differentiated the rich from the poor.

Literacy

All four women who participated in the pilot study were literate, by Botswana standards. Literacy in this case should be understood as the ability to do basic reading, writing and numeric equivalent to STD 7, basic primary school leaving examinations or an equivalent (primer 5). I have set literacy at attempting STD 7 because based on basic demonstration of literacy; it is the minimum requirement for employment in Botswana.

Women said they could not find any decent employment without a STD 7 certificate because they were not literate enough to compete for employment in the formal job market. Inadequate education for all the participants was partly caused by poverty related conditions including lack of information on the value of education.

Literacy was making women feel better about themselves even though it did not guarantee any employment in the formal job market. " Re botoka re kgona go ikwalela. Ga go tshwane re kgona go itirela sengwe." Women said they were better off because with literacy, at least they could read and write on their own without having to see their neighbors or friends to write personal letters for them. They said the non-literates were worse off because they could not do any written correspondence without asking someone else to do it for them. All the women said, for privacy, it is never good for other people to read and write personal letters for them.

On how literacy could eradicate poverty, women noted that literacy is important for securing a life partner and for employment opportunities. Women said employment opportunities were greater for literates than for non-literates. With increased literacy, women were expecting more money and improvement in the living standards to complement the kind of education they had that would not help them go beyond reading and writing. Furthermore, the possibility of meeting someone to marry also depended to a large extent on literacy because women said "nowadays" men were said to prefer women with a certain amount of literacy.

> We often hear men as individuals saying that they would not marry a non-working woman. They say they need someone to assist them in life, not just a housewife. Money can eradicate poverty. Getting married to a rich man can alleviate poverty (Focus group discussion with women, August 23rd 2000. Old Naledi Community Center: Gaborone).

Women expressed the need to be literate for everyday functioning. At the bank, immigration borders, shops and other places that people have to go to on any day, it was very important to be literate. Prior to attending the literacy class, all the women had never been literate. They were happy they had learned to write their names, and could identify some printed matter. They however wanted to go ahead and finish their literacy Primer 5 so that they could earn certificates and look for employment. Literacy to women was relevant for poverty alleviation only if one could earn a certificate and find a job.

Desire to learn and speak English

What had influenced the three ladies to join the course was the desire to be literate, and to speak English. Women said they wanted to be able to communicate in English so that they could get white-collar employment in offices or work as domestic workers for white families. They said experience with their friends indicated that white families paid better than indigenous Botswana families in the domestic market. Only one said her aunt who had failed to send her to a formal primary school enrolled her, otherwise she had no personal drive to be literate.

The women's main goal was to be able to speak English and find better paying jobs at the end of the course.

Chibana asserted:

> I want to learn English so that I can communicate with whites, work in a government office and take care of my children (Chibana, 22nd August 2000).

Working in an office, like all white-collar jobs, is more attractive to women than non-office or blue-collar type work. Women said they wanted to be able to read and write more fluently. In particular, Dika said she could read and count money after participating in literacy. With increased literacy, women were expecting more money and improvement in the living standards.

Poverty and gender inequalities

An interesting outcome of this pilot study is that while women believed they were suffering, none of them realized that poverty in Botswana disproportionately affected women than men. Women did not see any differences in the extent to which men and women were poverty stricken. Women had low self-esteem in relation to people they considered rich, but not in relation to single men. Women were gender aware but not gender sensitive.

As singles, all the four women felt they were better off than single poor men because in Botswana single women are usually custodians of children born outside marriage. Even though women thought this was burdensome, to women it may pay off in the end as women were more likely to get assistance from their children than men when those children matured and started working. Women said, "Bana ba tsoga ba re boloka."

Patriarchy as reflected in Botswana custom could be the reason for failure of women to identify gender inequalities in the distribution of poverty. Women are traditionally expected to reproduce and raise children. Even though reproduction was originally tolerated in marriage, with the changing culture, the high number of children born to single mothers is common (Davison, 1998).

Marriage as a social institution was still highly valued and almost all women would like to be married and have a male figure to help them in dealing with poverty. Without husbands, they remained poor because they had no form of assistance. Despite the high rate of divorces and separations, single women perceived marriage as the ultimate expression of love and commitment to one another.

As a primary concern, all the women felt fathers to their children should be taking care of dependent children. Because none of them was responsible, they had given up and were looking upon the government, their own brothers and siblings to help with child and personal support. For instance, Kego had moved in with her sister (also living in Old Naledi) after she lost her job because of poor health.

Women had a common say that the government of Botswana should assist them in making a way out of poverty:

> The government should create jobs for us so that we can make money. Government should furthermore give us plots so that we can build our own houses and not have to pay rent (Focus group

discussion with women, August 23rd 2000. Old Naledi Community Center: Gaborone).

Only as a group did women emphasize poverty as related to being single, in addition to being non-literate, having no assets, and inadequate education.

Conclusion

Poverty in Botswana is a gender and literacy based problem, even though women were not able to recognize gender inequalities at relational and distributive levels of poverty amongst men and women.

Qualitative methodology was the best way to capture data on women's understanding of poverty. Purposive sampling and gatekeepers were useful to select women with similar characteristics. All four women were literate but not to the point of making a way out of poverty. They were able to identify a conditional relationship between poverty and literacy, but this was based on their ability to find gainful employment.

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Exploring the Woman Superintendent's Career Paths

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Abstract: Most superintendents, male and female, entered education as a career around the age of twenty-three. Some decided early to enter administration, and ultimately become a superintendent. Positions held en route to the superintendency are of interest to persons who anticipate administrative careers. This paper discusses career paths of women superintendents.

As a young child just starting to school you knew you would have a teacher. Probably at that time not much was said about a principal. Not all eighth graders, or all twelfth graders can tell you the name of their principal. If you think that is amazing, not all students and not all parents can tell you the name of the superintendent of their district. If a guess is taken, the person guessing may say something like this: 'I know. It's Mr. Uhhhh.....' Seldom does the person guessing say: 'I know. It's Ms. Uhhhh...' The first assumption is usually that it must be a male. Unfortunately, they are usually correct, because it is usually a male. It is seldom that the Superintendent of Schools is a woman.

Young adults entering education as a career find that family demands such as caring for parents, or getting married, or caring for young children will sometimes demand that they remain out of the profession for periods of time. Often, society expects these demands to be placed on the woman more than on the man. These personal demands can and do have a direct effect on the [total] tenure of the educator. Making a decision to become an administrator may come in the early years of their career, but for some others, it may be a decision after several years as a classroom teacher. Some may do it as a reaction to their own experience with poor administrators and the thought that 'If I were an administrator, I would see that the school (or school system) were run in a more beneficial, effective and professional manner.' Others may make similar decisions after their own children have grown to junior high school age, high school age or more.

Career patterns or positions held on the way to the superintendency are usually of interest to persons who anticipate administrative careers in education. Also, people who design administrative programs would want to know about these patterns and positions. At one time, especially in the early years of American education there was a pattern of teacher-principal-superintendent. Often, if this pattern is seen currently, it is in a small or rural district. That is not always the case today. Some school districts may hire a candidate directly from the corporate world, which another may hire someone who has been encouraged, mentored, and specifically groomed from within the district for the position. Some superintendents are recruited out of retirement to return to districts to get the district through a specific crisis if the district has no current superintendent, or they may be called upon to be a consultant for some specific district goals. An increase has been seen in the teacher-assistant principal-principal-central office administrator (in more than one position) – superintendent.

Males and females do respond differently when asked about their routes to the superintendency. There is a difference in planning, networking, family responsibilities, and expectations. One might think that women's rights would play a significant role in the hiring of more women. There are fewer women than men named to this position. Another question is 'Is it due to the lack of preparation at the graduate school level?' That is answered by taking a long look at the graduate schools that offer programs that prepare their students for this position.

Research has been done by many scholars that point out the imbalance between male and female superintendents in this country. This is not new phenomenon. X. Montenegro (1999), L. Cunningham (1982), A. Revere (1985), C. Shakeshaft (1989), to name a few have each done extensive research on the superintendency and have pointed out, not only the career paths of women, but also the barriers which they faced and had to overcome in order to be successful in their craft.

Administration of school districts in urban areas has frequently been characterized by leadership instability and by unwanted (and sometimes unwarranted) turbulence (H. Scott, 1980). Whenever there is a change in top leadership in an urban area, the media makes it a part of its headline. Only in the last 15 years has attention been directed to female superintendents (Bell, 1988; Frasher, Frasher, and Hardwick, 1982; Gabler, 1987; Ortiz and Marshall, 1988; and Pitner, 1981). Some researchers have examined female superintendents closely in urban contexts (Jackson, 1978; Sizemore, 1986). Data are seldom analyzed by sex, and infrequently by race or ethnicity of superintendents or school board members (Jones and Montenegro, 1990). These variables are important and are of interest to many groups. These variables may be more important to a more complete understanding of the dynamics of educational leadership (Shakeshaft, 1989; Tallerico, 1992).

Why aren't there more women superintendents? Look at the historical record. Take a look at today's idealized American family structure and relate it to that period of history when America experienced the era of the common school. Think about the gender structure of teachers in most elementary and high school settings today and relate it to the gender structure in American schools in the late 1800's.

In the 1800's rural school districts began to have supervisors, or superintendents as they were often referred to. It was thought that teachers needed significant guidance, especially as women moved into teaching. The ruling school committee could give advice, but did not really know how to teach. These 'new' superintendents had little or no instructional experience, they were male, and they rode from one one-room schoolhouse to the next. What they really brought to their work was the fact that they were men.

Career paths were not off to a stable beginning in those days. Women, as a group, tended to move in and out of teaching quickly. Some taught for a short time before leaving for marriage. Some left because of difficult working conditions. Still others had to leave to be caretakers for members of their family; daughters were expected to assist ill family members. This transience was looked upon as unprofessional. Men also moved in and out of teaching, but they often left for better pay, improved conditions, or prestige or greater authority. Men did not receive the same criticism as women. They were thought to be justified in seeking better opportunities (Blount, 1998).

This author has included a brief comparison of problems seen statistically in two research studies: problems of 1982 (*The American School Superintendency 1982: A Summary Report*, Cunningham and Hentges, 1982) and problems of 1998 (*Endangered Species? New AASA Study Identifies Characteristics of School Superintendents*, Hodgkinson and Montenegro, 1998). Cunningham and Hentges (1982) were commissioned by American Association of School Administrators (AASA) to examine the issues which affect administrators, study the roadblocks that might inhibit effectiveness and explore what administrators feel they need to know to be successful. A report was prepared for AASA by an Ohio State University research team which was headed by Luvern L. Cunningham, Novice G. Fawcett Professor of Educational Administration, College of Education and Senior Faculty, Mershon Center at Ohio State and Joseph T. Hentges, Graduate Research Associate, Academic Faculty of Educational Administration, College of Education at Ohio State. Hentges now (1982) serves as Superintendent of Schools in Cannon Falls, Minnesota.

A stratified, selected sample of 2,533 public school superintendents from all United States school systems during 1980-81 was chosen from the AASA's computerized listings. Membership in the organization was not a requirement for participation. The sample was based on a stratification by student enrollment in each district and not on civilian population. The sample was stratified into five major categories, as follows:

- Group A – superintendents in school districts with student enrollments of 25,000 or more.
- Group B – superintendents in school districts with student enrollments from 3,000 to 24,999.
- Group C – superintendents in districts with student enrollments from 300 to 2,999.
- Group D – superintendents in districts with fewer than 300 students.
- Group E – chief school administrators of intermediate school districts including county school districts, joint vocational schools, educational service units and similar districts known by a wide variety of titles (Cunningham, 1982).

> The profile of America's school superintendent was computed from the data in two ways.
>
> First, a National Unweighted Profile was computed based on the raw data from the respondents. Second, a National Weighted Profile was computed which took into account statistically the differences in sample size of the of the four enrollment strata for general superintendents and the percentage of respondents in each stratum (Cunningham, 1982, p. 13).

Seven of the thirty-one tables created for this study have been included in this paper. Each table, it is thought, has an influence on the career/career paths of these superintendents. The tables are: #2, Superintendents' Ages; #3, Education of Superintendents' Parents; #5, Political Party Preferences of Superintendents; #6, Significant Career Milestones; #10, Careers Superintendents Would Choose; #12, Discrimination Problems for Women and Minorities; #13, Recruitment and Encouragement of Women and Minorities; #21, Highest Earned Degrees by District Size; and #30, Ratings of Graduate Programs in Educational Administration.

> This report was funded by Superintendents Prepared, the urban leadership consortium composed of the Institute for Educational Leadership, the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, and the McKenzie Group, Inc. The consortium collaborated with the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) during the study. AASA has commissioned a study on superintendents every ten years since the 1920s, except during the 1940s due to World War II (Hodgkinson and Montenegro, 1999, p. 1).
>
> The report gathered demographic information and spotlighted current school superintendents, described as the least studied chief executives in the nation, in order to aid policymakers in planning for future school leaders. The study points out the crucial role school superintendents play in the education process, and notes that few receive appropriate formal training for the complexities they face. Also, superintendents may be responsible for county, district, or city systems, and their responsibilities vary greatly from one system to another (Hodgkinson and Montenegro, p. 1).
>
> While the majority of superintendents are White males, gender and race gaps are slowly shrinking. In 1988, four percent of superintendents were female. By 1993, women superintendents comprised 7 percent of the total, and have risen to 12 per cent today. Women superintendents are more likely to be found in suburban and urban areas rather than in rural school districts. Racial inequities are slower to disappear. In 1985, 3 percent of superintendents were minorities, yet today, they are still only 5 percent of the total. Again, minority superintendents, like women superintendents, are more likely to be found in urban and suburban areas than in rural school districts (Hodgkinson and Montenegro, 1999, p. 1).

What this study shows is that when positions currently held are measured against the readiness pipeline of potential administrators for the same positions, one would see that the pipeline holds the great diversity. Women and minorities hold nearly 46 percent of the positions which can be used as stepping stones to the top position. Women hold 33 percent of the assistant/associate/deputy/area superintendent positions, and minorities hold 12.9 percent of these positions. It is not unusual that women exceed men at 57 percent in central office administrator positions, and minorities are 14.3 percent. Women hold 41 percent of the principalships, though their greatest numbers are in the elementary schools. Minorities also show their greatest numbers in the elementary schools at 17.4 percent; 16.8 percent at the middle schools; 12.5 percent at the secondary schools.

This study points out that there is a misperception of the superintendents' tenures. Many believe they are brief and volatile. Some high profile superintendent positions may show these characteristics, but the average length of tenure was five years, down from 6.4 years in 1992. Another fact of note is that superintendents are hired from within the state where they reside, although large systems may hold nationwide searches.

Most superintendents attain the top position by working their way up through the ranks. This study found two main routes, from teacher to principal, to central office administrator, to superintendent or by using the same route but skipping the central office administrator position. These authors mentioned a study in 1987 that used data from the University of Texas that indicated the superintendents who hold central office administrator positions before becoming superintendent were rated as being more effective than those who went directly from principal to superintendent.

In addition to addressing career paths, this study also examined the problem of a qualified applicant pool for superintendent positions. It is thought that education and certification need to be improved. It was found that currently, only one-third of superintendents have earned a doctorate. At least two programs have shown success: Superintendents Prepared and the Urban Superintendents Program at the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University where there is a program which is expanding the pool of individuals who are qualified for the superintendency, including women and minorities.

Still, you ask, "What can help open the doors for women aspiring to the superintendency?" There is no one answer or easy answer. Reassessments which offer different approaches by the universities that provide preparation programs for school superintendents, mentoring programs, boards of education – both state and local, current administrators who are always on the alert for the best talent, target and groom a woman, personnel directors and committees need to become more acutely aware of eligible pools of candidates. These are only a few of the myriad of suggestions available. One will hear this list resounding, along with many more "helps" through the various studies that have been conducted in the last two or three decades.

Five studies have been taken from *Dissertation Abstracts* which lend themselves to this paper on career paths of women superintendents. They are only introduced here, and will be expanded through discussion at the conference. The studies are:

1. Successful women Superintendents: What are their career paths? How do they manage conflict? Why do they leave the superintendency? (Leadership).
   Author/Researcher: Pino, Cynthia
   Institution/Year: George Washington University, 1997
2. Profiles of Women Superintendents and Women Aspiring to the Superintendency in California and Barriers Encountered During Their Careers
   Author/Researcher: Obermeyer, Lou Elizabeth
   Institution/Year: University of La Verne, 1996
3. A Comparison of the Career Paths of Women Chief Executives in Business and Education (Aspiration, Mobility, Discrimination)
   Author/Researcher: Newcombe, Joanne
   Institution/Year: Northeastearn University, 1985
4. Career Paths of Women School Superintendents
   Author/Researcher: Dorner, Sharon
   Institution/Year: Rutgers University, 1982

5. Career Path Models For Women Superintendents
Author/Researcher: Mcdade, Thresa
Institution/Year: Arizona State University, 1981

There are 8 Profiles which have been a monthly feature in AASAs *The School Administrator*, and they each offer a career path which will be compared and contrasted in this presentation. Four women and four men have been selected.

1. Cranswick, Donna – currently superintendent of Creighton Elementary School District 14 in Phoenix, Arizona. She began her career as a kindergarten teacher, director of curriculum, associate superintendent in Creighton district.
2. Griffin, Annette – currently superintendent of Carrollton-Farmers Branch Independent School District, Carrollton, Texas. She has been an elementary school principal, assistant superintendent of curriculum and instruction, and superintendent in Duncanville Texas.
3. Hopson, Elaine M. – currently she is an Oregon state representative, House District 2, Tillamook. She was superintendent, Tillamook School District No. 9, Tillamook, Oregon for 10 years. She held both positions simultaneously for the last 2 years of her superintendency. Nine years were spent in the central office in Juneau as Director of Personnel. For 3 years she was superintendent in Detroit, Oregon. The National Conference of State Legislatures is aware of only one other superintendent-legislator: Jane Smith of Benton, Louisiana. Hopson is a native Alaskan.
4. Raley, J. Phillip – currently he is superintendent, Opelika City Schools, Opelika, Alabama. In the same district, he has been counselor, principal, and assistant superintendent.
5. Vigil, Joseph M. – currently he is associate superintendent for school reform, Albuquerque Public Schools, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Earlier he was superintendent, Menominee Indian School District, Keshena, Wisconsin.
6. Vick, Larry D. – currently he is superintendent, Paris Special School District, Paris, Tennessee. Earlier he was superintendent of Carroll County School District, Huntingdon, Tennessee. His career began as a science teacher.
7. White, Eugene G. – currently superintendent of the 14 school Metropolitan School District of Washington Township, Indianapolis, Indiana. Earlier he was deputy superintendent, Indianapolis Public Schools, Indianapolis, Indiana.
8. Wright, Chris L. – currently she is superintendent of School District of Riverview Gardens, St. Louis, Missouri. Earlier she was assistant superintendent for administration, Ritenour School District, St. Louis, Missouri.

Each of these 7 superintendents and 1 assistant superintendent was given an opportunity share the 'good' work they have done in their district, which is the bulk of their article. Other biographical information is shared through side headings as Greatest influence on career, Best professional day, Books at bedside, Biggest blooper, and A reason why I'm an AASA member.

The big question is "Where do school leaders come from?" According to the Washington, D.C. based Superintendents Prepared, an urban leadership group that works to find and support good superintendent candidates, most superintendents (99%) started their careers as teachers and served a stint in the central office. Close to three-fourths of all public school teachers are women, and 60 percent of the central office administrators are women (Vail, 1999).

A little talked about path, almost unheard of, is an unofficial path to the superintendency, and it traditionally begins with the high school principalship.

> Many would-be superintendents spend time at the helm of a secondary school; after all, high school principals handle large budgets and numerous employees, which is seen as good training for a superintendent. The next step is often a central office position in the business or facilities office – again, good experience for a superintendent, who will need to manage money and construction (Vail, 1999, p. 7).

Every state in the union has a list of search consultants. They want to help school districts find the best leadership, and find it quickly. The career path mentioned is the career path many search consultants have come to expect when they review candidates for the superintendency. But, unfortunately, it is a path that leaves most women at a disadvantage. Women are more likely to have been elementary school principals than high school principals. About 41 percent of elementary school principals are female, and nearly 14 percent of secondary principals are female. The jobs they take in the central office often are as curriculum or special education coordinators. The perception often is that women cannot handle finance or construction (Vail, 1999).

Margaret Grogan is a professor of education at the University of Virginia and has studied and written extensively about women administrators. Some of her works have implied that women administrators who want to be superintendent candidates have deliberately gotten onto facilities, finance, or construction committees to shore up their resumes. Often those women had the advantage of a male mentor who knew what school boards and hiring committees would be looking for (Vail, 1999).

Grogan has also said, many times, that women tend to become administrators at an older age than men do. Many women become teachers so they can keep the same hours, holidays, and spring and summer breaks as their children. Only when their children grow up and go to college are these women ready to take on an administrative job. The woman superintendents in Grogan's studies preferred to be academic leaders. Since women have spent most of their time in the classroom, instruction is on the top of their agenda. It is the passion of most women, according to Grogan (Vail, 1999).

Could this passion become an advantage for these women if they decide to enter administration, and later the superintendency? Perhaps it could favor women in today's superintendency. As school boards increase their emphasis on student achievement, they are putting more emphasis on instructional leadership than on finance and business ability (Vail, 1999).

Regardless of how one may try to envision top leadership in the United States today, their conclusion will have to be that the superintendency continues to be dominated by white males. Glass did a study for AASA in 1992. It revealed that 92.7 percent of the superintendents who responded to a national survey were men, and 6.6 percent were women. A total of 95.5 percent were nonminority, and approximately 4.0 percent were minority.

The process of employing chief executive officers to run school districts has not proven conducive to selecting women or minorities. In 1994 Grady, Ourada-Sieb, and Wesson did a national study of women superintendents. A study's instrument can be so constructed to reveal many facts; most related to the research topic, some might be unrelated. As a result of their study, an interesting conclusion was reached by Grady, Ourada-Sieb, and Wesson:

> Both urban and rural women superintendents have leadership characteristics that are similar, and these leadership characteristics do fit a new leadership paradigm. These women superintendents have been hired to be change agents and consensus builders, and both the urban and rural superintendents are finding success in their jobs (Grady, Ourada-Sieb, and Wesson, 1994, p. 157).

With the changing demographics in the United States, there will probably be changes in the proportions of women and minorities in the superintendency. The percentages of both women and minorities will also probably increase in the next decade because of the conscious efforts being made by the women themselves who aspire to the superintendency, as they continue to plan their career paths to include some specific experiences, earn doctorates, have a mindset to become more mobile, and apply for the top position. Also, some universities and professional organizations are deliberately reaching out to help in the preparation of potential candidates for the superintendency.

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Who Will Lead:
An Examination of Black Male Leadership Theory and Development

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> **Abstract:** The question then comes: Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meager chance for developing their exceptional men? If, history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic, No! (Du Bois, 1969, p. 88).

Black leadership in the United States has for centuries emerged despite injustices, inhumanities, and provisos of racism. Leaders have evolved from core institutions such as the church, schools, community organizations, and the family. The vanguard of Black leadership has addressed the issues of freedom, justice, opportunities and access for African Americans. These leaders have advocated respect, dignity, and self-etermination. Espousing these same preeminent rights of African Americans has been the outcry of mass movements leaders such as Oscar De Priest, Frederick Douglass, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, Marcus Moziah Garvey, Martin Luther King Jr., Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Booker Taliaferro Washington, Malcolm X and others during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Unfortunately, as we enter into a new century, and without the auspices of the "one" mass leader, the challenges and context of leadership returns full circle, back on the shoulders of the core institutions such as the church, community organizations, schools/colleges, and the family. These challenges are to develop the community and the "every day," grassroots or community leaders. Martin Luther King Jr., in 1956 declared in a speech titled, "Facing the Challenge of a New Age":

> In this period of transition and growing social change, there is a dire need for leaders of all races who are calm and yet positive, leaders who avoid the extremes of "hotheadedness" and "Uncle Tomism." The urgency of the hour calls for leaders of wise judgement and sound integrity--leaders not in love with money, but in love with justice; leaders not in love with publicity, but in love with humanity; leaders who can subject their particular egos to the greatness of the cause (Dyson, 1996, p. 150).

Perhaps, what the African American community needs at this time is a means of tapping into the creative energy of the African American intelligentsia to find those who have vision sufficient enough to allow them to work in tandem with community-based organizational leadership. The benefits of such a partnership would result in our actions being authenticated, and also in keeping our ideals grounded in the Black social and cultural reality. The necessity of creating a better linkage between the African American community and its leaders caused me to think more about leadership theory and development. And, although leaders have always existed within every race and gender, traditional U.S. history gives the most attention to leaders who are White men. Therefore, a critical analysis of the leadership literature has led me to recognize that marginalized Blacks may not fit easily or may not choose to follow traditionally defined leadership models.

Du Bois writes:

> Thus, then and now, there stand in the South two separate worlds; and separate not simply in the higher realms of social intercourse, but also in church and school. On the railway and street-car, in the hotels and theaters, in streets and city sections, in books and newspaper, in asylums and jails, in hospitals and graveyards (Du Bois, 1969, p. 129).

A generally accepted concept portrayed in the literature is that African American males have a more difficult time in claiming their rights and privileges than do whites and/or other groups. Perhaps, it is because Blacks remain invisible to white eyes. Whether in education, jobs, parenting, or a promotion in the workplace, African American males confront barriers manifested either by policy and/or by convention. Statistics confirm that more African American males are involved in the criminal justice system or on probation than are in colleges or universities (African American Desk Reference, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 1999). In comparison to whites, generally the U.S. criminal justice system has had a disproportional impact on African American males.

Thus as a rule, the voices of African American men, especially in relation to leadership, are yet to be meaningfully heard. Therefore, the heart of this paper is the African American male. A desire to know as well as produce knowledge on the essentials of black male leadership theory and development and its impact on the historical, educational, sociological, psychological, economical, and political foundations of African American leadership in this country. The genesis of this discussion embraces the seven variables in Kawaida theory: history, religion, social organization, economic organization, political organization, creative production, and ethos as essential to black male leadership development.

History

Kawaida theory contends that "history is the struggle and record of humans in the process of humanizing the world" (Karenga, 1993, p. 70). History is the foundation for value orientation and for vision instruction. It is history that frames the past, shapes the present, and guides the future. Maulana Karenga, originator of Kawaida theory, argued, "without a tradition, without a foundation to stand on, we don't have a serious way to build our lives and give fullness a meaning. It is also important in terms of linking back with culture, which is the product of history." The history of African Americans has been one of great gains and of equally great losses. Black struggles in America have been a struggle against degradation and devaluation in enslaved circumstances. Black leadership has been a history of conflict among the integrationists, the nationalist forces, and the Black intelligentsia. The leaders have represented a vanguard of political ideologues and social movements. History resounds with struggles of the present African American in their quest for basic human rights, the protection of persons and property, the equal treatment in the legal systems, and equality in education and employment. A leader must give the people a sense of possibility to create history and to create greatness to push their lives forward and a sense that they can take control of their destiny and daily lives.

Religion

According to Kawaida theory, religion is the thought, belief, and practice concerned with the transcendent and ultimate quest of life. Religion and the church are and continue to be the most authoritative institution both in the lives of the individual as well as the community. The church considered as the Black giant that rose up out of the bowels of slavery has not only served as a spiritual haven for its people but as an inherent and visible womb for the psychological, educational, social, political and economic development of its community. The role of the church is regarded as the hub for leadership development and philanthropy. Because ministers had both a spiritual and secular role, they were considered the primary spokesperson for the entire Black community, especially during periods of crisis. With emphasis on advancing the race, many of the prophetic, dynamic, and visionary African American males emerged as leaders and were and continue to be trained for leadership roles by way of the Black church. The mission of the church must be renewed to be the "vitamins of ethics and morals: faith, hope, love, service, and security" for its parishioners. It is religion that encourages its parishioners to triumph over tragedy by believing that suffering could be turned to good use. It is, therefore, essential that leaders have this sense of sageness that comes with how you view yourself with relationship to nature, to other humans, and to God.

Social Organization

Social organization, according to Kawaida theory, is the structure and functioning of the Black community, as well as the various units and processes that compose and define it and its relations with the people and forces external to it. Each successive generation of African Americans has pursued the goal of freedom and democracy with units and processes both internal and external to the Black community. It has endured the institutions of Slavery, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and resurgence of conservative republicism. The Black community has relied on the core institutions of family, church, education, and government to be a catalyst for support, reform, and leadership. During slavery, most Whites were strongly against teaching Blacks to read and write. It was believed that education posed a threat to the institution of slavery. Although it was against the law, in some places, for Blacks to be taught to read and write, "little Sabbath school" emerged. As these "little Sabbath schools" evolved throughout the country, they became major learning institutions. They further became academies for training its ministers, teachers, and leaders. Therefore, education was as highly stressed back in those earlier years as it is now. It was expected by their families and in most cases required that these participants acquired the highest level of education possible. Education was thought of "as a way out of no way" by the elders of the Black community.

Economic Organization

The processes established to examine the systems of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services in the Black community is economic organization, as defined by Kawaida theory. Democracy is tapping the great possibilities of mankind from unused and unsuspected reservoirs of human greatness. Bennett (1982) wrote that building the strength and resources of the Black community was the interest of every Black leader. Du Bois's ideology focused on establishing Black cooperatives and all Black parties built on a base of Black art and culture. Garvey advocated that "a race that is solely dependent upon others for its economic existence sooner or later dies." Booker T. Washington's approach to self-help and Black economic development was considered the greatest compromise of the century. He championed the concepts of segregation and disfranchisement and centered on industrial education. His program consisted of moral training, literacy instruction, manual labor, and handyman skills. This caused much consternation among Blacks who advocated for equality in education and employment.

A catalyst to the civil rights struggle was the grassroots economic protest such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Karenga (1993) indicated that during this era Blacks made the most severe and successful theoretical and practical criticism of the structure and content of United States society. Martin L. King Jr's platform centered around securing human and economic rights. Malcolm's ideology evolved around building of Black institutions and the necessity to revolutionize the economic and political base in the United States. Meanwhile, Marable (1998) attested that the creative site of popular protest moved from the courtroom to the street, to the segregated lunch counters and department stores. It way an effective mode of economic defense for empowerment and resistance. Also, with the evolution of the Nation of Islam (NOI) became an organization founded on patriarchal, conservative, self-sufficiency, racial pride, separatism and economic autonomy.

According to African American Desk Reference (1999), Black gains in income has doubled for the Black middle class between 1982 and 1990. The largest gains were made by dual-income families. But Black families who were measure mainly by real estate, business ownership, stocks and bonds, and savings accounts only possess 19 cents of mean financial assets for every dollar possessed. This is attributed to such factors as continuing discrimination by mortgage lenders and the historic restrictions that prevent African Americans from acquiring assets such as business and homes.

Political Organization

Kawaida theory defines the political organization as the process of gaining, maintaining, and using power. According to Cornell West (1994) and Henry Gates, two of the most effective political forms of organizing and mobilizing among Blacks were the Black women's club movement led by Ida B. Wells and the migration movement guided by Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, A.S. Bradley, and Richard H. Cain. Both were based in Black civil society: Black churches, lodges, fraternal orders and sororities. Their fundamental goals were "neither civil rights nor social equality but rather respect, dignity, land ownership, and self-determination. " The Black church was considered and used as the town hall. Its ministers were referred to as propagandists as well as "exhorters." The fight against injustices, empowering and educating

Blacks continues to be the elements of social responsibility for its leaders. The Abolitionist movement can be best compared to the Freedom Movement of the 1960s. The Abolitionists launched strategies of nonviolence, held mass meetings, sang freedom songs, staged sit-ins, marched, demonstrated, and organized freedom rides.

Political organizations such as the Negro Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Urban League, the Niagara Movement, The Black Woman's Club Movement, The Nation Association of Colored Women (NACW), The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Black Panther Party, Us, TransAfrica, Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), Nation of Islam (NOI), Operation Push- People United to Save Humanity and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), were some of the founding political organizations. Other active political and civil rights organizations are The Congressional Black Caucus, African Americans in Government, AFL-CIO-Department of Civil Rights, American Association for Affirmative Action, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Institute for Black Leadership, Development, and Research, National Black Leadership Roundtable, National Black United Front, National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, and thousands of state, local, and community organizations.

Creative Production

Creative production is the standard of creativity and beauty that were inspired by and reflective of people's life-experiences and life aspirations. The leaders of Black political, social, and economic history were prophetic, dynamic, and visionary. Du Bois, who questioned the overriding issue of one's identity by asking the following: Who are we as a people; what is our cultural heritage; what values or ideals can we share with other groups to enrich society as a whole? This author's response to these questions is that perhaps what the African American community needs at this time is a means of tapping into the creative energy of the African American intelligentsia to find those who have vision sufficient enough to allow them to work in tandem with community-based organizational leadership. The benefits of such partnership would result in our actions being authenticated and also in keeping with our ideals grounded in the Black social and cultural reality. Leaders need to be both educationally and mentally prepared. It is part of that upbringing of what one learns in the home and in school. And, mostly an individual must have an opportunity and access to positions within the institutions.

Ethos

A people's self-consciousness and self-definition, which is often called its national or ethnic character that is not only defined by itself but also assumed by others, is our final variable in Kawaida theory. I deviate somewhat from what this variable characterizes to include what the self-consciousness and self-definition of a leader means to its constituents. T'Shaka (1990) asserted that the truly great African American leaders are not just a voice but forge a oneness with their people that enables them to expand on the people's vision. An essential process of successful group dynamics and self-identification leads to self-definition. The definition of Black male leadership appears to embrace a transcendental form of leadership. This form of leadership leads individuals to perceive leadership as a means of living their lives in the service of and for others. That this life-long service is accomplished through empowerment, transformation, commitment, and sacrifice on behalf of others.

Conclusion

Perhaps this very complex question of who will lead, can be best answered by challenging the context of leadership and returning full circles, back on the shoulders of the core institutions such as the church, community organizations, schools/colleges, and the family. New initiatives must develop the community and the "every day," grassroots or community leaders and it is paramount that the African American community tap into the creative energy of the African American intelligentsia to find those who have vision sufficient enough to allow them to work in tandem with community-based organizational leadership. Finally, this paper suggests that great leaders are created by their people; that the success of one is the success of all; that leaders must forever succumb to a life of sacrifice and service; and that history teaches them that through strife/struggle, there is a yearning to be respected and not be cursed upon by his fellows simply because of his race or gender. Most importantly, what this study concludes that those who choose to lead should have a strong sense of self-worth; have or acquire the necessary talents/skills and/or knowledge; develop and institute philosophies, principles and practices; use these talents/skills/knowledge to empower or transform others; sacrifice for the good of others; and be public servants.

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Afritics: Interpreting the Political Style of African American Women as Political Leaders

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Abstract: This paper will summarize research which examined the politics of African American political leaders. A critical, ethnographic, case study was used to obtain the data. As part of a larger study, the data revealed that Afritics more accurately explains the politics of African American women as it relates to their political leadership experiences.

Introduction

This paper seeks to theorize the politics of African American women political leaders by providing a discussion of afritics and politics. Second, the paper explores a history of afritics as evidenced by the lives and works of Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, Fannie Lou Hamer, Mary Church Terrell, and Shirley Chisolm. Third, the paper will examine the contemporary afritics of former U.S. Senator Carol Moseley Braun and Chicago Alderwoman Dorothy Tillman. The paper concludes with vital implications for scholars of African descent who are developing theories about politics of African American political leaders.

Politics

There are many definitions and dimensions to the term politics. Politics is broadly defined as a power relationship which involves the ability to influence the behavior of others. Politics requires a belief in the American ideal that politics works for the betterment of all those who are at the margins as well as those who are at the center; however, some politics involve using political power against the marginalized. Kenneth Smorsten (1980) states that politics is a process of deciding who gets what, when, and how, and that this decision-making process is typically made by political elites who exercise the most power and control. These political elites typically are White, male, and upper class. Croteau (1995) argues that a large number of those who claim to represent the people are really about self-interest. They are rich, and are out of touch with common, everyday people. The hegemonic nature of politics is evidenced by the existence of political, wealthy elites who are familiar with the rules of the political game. These politicians use their knowledge, material capital, and cultural capital to make decisions about who gets to keep most of the benefits in this country (Rouder 1997, p. 9-24; Harrigan, 1993, pp. 26-31).

Afritics

The data reveals that the women in this study have a political style that is not consistent with what has been identified above as politics, but what I term here as afritics. Afritics is an Africentric understanding of politics. Afritics is an African-centered perspective of politics and operates as a defining construct in which people are viewed in an existential context as being participatory, collective, subjective agents in history who have been and continue to be manipulated by the Western concepts of the political process. Margaret Shaw (1992) states that an African-centered approach moves one through states of personal, communal, and spiritual transcendence to bring about empowerment and the unifying philosophic concepts in the African American experience characterized by cooperation, connection, and independence. An African-centered perspective requires a world and cultural view which entertains the question, "How do we use corrective politics to integrate history and inquire about the liberation of people?" Phyllis Ham Garth (1996) asserts that an African-centered perspective will allow us to analyze the decisions made regarding scarce resources: Race is, and continues to be, a major factor in these resources. By using an African-centered perspective, we are able to reconstruct Western values by using multiple lenses. Afritics comes about because of the multiple lenses, consciousness, and vision that African American women use in facing their daily life. Afritics is the recognition that there exists two worlds; a White world which is the home of politics, and a Black world where the women in this study learned from their experiences acquired in family, church, and community how to use afritics and move from margin to center. bell hooks (1984) described her early awareness of her multiple consciousness and movement between margin and center. hooks states:

> To be in the margin is to be part of the whole but outside the main body. This mode of seeing reminded us of the experience of a whole universe; a body made up of margin and center. Our survival depends on ongoing public awareness of the separation between margin and center and an ongoing private acknowledgment that we were a necessary, vital part of that whole (p. iv).

Deborah King (1990) discussed how circumstances affect the multiple consciousness of African-American women, their politics and their interaction of the world. King commented:

> Black women have long recognized the special circumstances of our lives in the U.S., the commonalities that we share with all women, as well as the bonds that connect us to the men of our race. We have also recognized that the interactive oppressions that circumscribe our lives provide a distinctive content for Black womanhood (p. 265).

In this study, the data suggests that politics is not appropriate for African American women leaders. Afritics is essential for their survival. Politics involves a eurocentric understanding of the political world. Politics stresses finite activity, meaning that an outcome from decision-making is based upon the purpose of winning. Conversely, afritics emphasizes an infinite process of interactions or continuous activity based upon what is good for the collective. Those who represent center in politics are highly concerned with competition and the allocation of resources to the haves and have-nots. Afriticians (those who afritic) pay particular attention to the issues evolving from those on the bottom because they are concerned with lifting as they climb.

Politicians don't always subscribe nor practice the American ideal in their decision-making process. Afriticians, on the other hand, are aware of the American ideal and are highly concerned with the eradication of social inequalities. Politicians are not required to understand the world of Afriticians; however, Afriticians are exposed to the world of politicians very early in their lives and quickly learn to politically flex, or move, between the White world and their world of origin. The ability to politically flex between environments, culture, and systems represents a high degree of political sharpness and skill as evidenced by the participants studied.

Politics, referred to as "politics as usual" is the voices of White, male elites making decisions that will affect the lives of many, diverse, everyday people whom they probably do not know. The majority of politicians represent "the haves" rather than "the have nots". Afritics is an awareness of "politics as usual" and entails bringing difference to the political table. In the decision-making process, the African American women studied bring themselves and their multiple-lenses to the political table. As Afriticians, the women studied have a strong orientation of community as family and, therefore, have a strong affiliation with their communities. Unlike many of the typical politicians, struggle is familiar to many Afriticians. As a result, Afriticians emphasize community service (lifting as they climb), and education, both formal and non-formal. Afriticians possess a unique understanding of oppression, and they continuously act as change agents in an effort to end racism, classism, and sexism. Therefore, they constantly battle the Aisms. The women studied were not the first to afritic; rather history provides examples of African American women who engaged in afritics. I will now portray six such women.

A Close Examination: A History of Afritics

One of the earliest African American women to afritic was Sojourner Truth, a former slave (1799-1883). Sojourner Truth achieved fame as a preacher and lecturer, an abolitionist, a supporter of women's rights and an advocate of the poor. Sojourner Truth is most known for her Ain't I a woman? speech, delivered before a women's rights convention (Seneca Falls Convention) held in Akron, Ohio, in May, 1851. In her speech, Truth created controversy because, through her afritics, she challenged the audience to re-think the definition of a woman. She pointed out that she was not White nor was she male, and yet she was a woman, a Black woman (Lerner, 1972, pp. 1172-1176; Hine, 1973, pp. 370-375).

Anna Julia Haywood Cooper (1858-1964) a former slave, was an educator, lecturer, researcher, teacher, author, feminist, and an advocate for human rights. Cooper obtained both bachelor's and master's degrees from Oberlin; and, at the age of sixty-two, she received a Ph.D. in Latin from the Sorbonne in Paris, France. Dr. Cooper's afritics is evidenced in her book ***Black Woman of the South*** (1892) which is considered one of the first African American feminist publications. In her book Julia stated that the African American woman evaluates and sees her world as called for by her race and as a woman. Also, Cooper stated that the Black woman could ill afford to put her sex or her race aside as she seeks to serve the interests of humanity (Hine, 1993, pp. 275-281; Lerner, 1972, p. 574).

Ida Bell Wells-Barnett (1862-1931) was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, and was educated at Rust College (formerly known as Shaw University). She was the oldest child of slave parents. Her fight against racism, sexism, and classism evidences her afritics. Ida was a teacher, writer, reporter, journalist, author, and lecturer. She was the founder of the first, African-American, women's suffrage club in the state of Illinois; and she used her club influence and charisma to elect Chicago's first African-American Alderman, Oscar DePriest. Among Ida's many political activities, she was an unsuccessful independent candidate for the Illinois State Senate (Hine, 1993, pp. 1242-1246; Lerner, 1972, pp. 196-205).

Mary Church Terrell's (1863-1954) afritics are marked by her sixty-six years of fighting against racism and sexism. Terrell hailed from a prominent African-American family and graduated at the top of her class from Oberlin College. She was a teacher, writer, lecturer, and social activist. Fluent in three languages, Terrell lectured nationally and internationally on the significance of human rights (Hine, 1993, p. 1159; Lerner, 1972, pp. 206-211).

In I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired, Fannie Lou Hamer's afritics are heard. Hamer is especially known for her grassroots activity and public speaking. Fannie Lou Hamer (1917-1977), a former sharecropper, was the youngest of twenty brothers and sisters. In her struggle for human rights, Fannie Lou was jailed, beaten, shot, and her home was bombed. Hamer served as field secretary for SNNC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and assisted in the formation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic National Convention where she served as vice-chairperson and delegate to the Democratic National Convention. Fannie Lou Hamer is most noted in afritics for her endless contributions to the Civil Rights Movement. These contributions served to transform the Democratic Party in raising pressing questions surrounding basic human needs and rights (Hine, 1993, pp. 518-520; Lerner, 1972, pp. 609-614).

Shirley Chisolm is a former teacher, nursery school director, and assembly woman who made the first serious bid by a woman for the presidential nomination of a major party. She is the author of two books. In ***Unbought and Unbossed***, the former Representative displays her multiple lenses and her afritics as she discusses race, class, and gender in the context of the American political scene (Hine, 1993, pp. 236-238; Lerner, 1972, pp. 352-357).

African American history has several examples of women who engaged in afritics and have served as role models for contemporary African American women who are participating in afritics. Anna Langford, the first African American woman elected to the Chicago City Council, Chicago Alderwoman Dorothy Tillman, and former U.S. Senator Carol Moseley Braun are just three of the women who have followed the path of Truth, Terrell, Hamer, and Chisolm.

Interpretations of Contemporary Afritics: Anna Langford, Dorothy Tillman and, Carol Moseley Braun

Anna Langford's afritics or political style is demonstrated by her service as a member of the Chicago City Council. Anna Langford made Chicago history when she became the first African American woman elected to the City Council in 1971. The John Marshall Law School graduate and former practicing attorney, came back to the City Council with Mayor Harold Washington in 1983, and was re-elected in 1987. Anna Langford has retired from political life. Anna Langford's afritics or political style is characterized by her passion and commitment for counteracting adversity and injustice. Such passion and commitment stimulated Langford's participation and political involvement. When asked why she became involved in politics, Ms. Langford stated:

> Well, there were Black who were friends of mine. One of them I thought was the

> precinct captain and it tuned out that he was not the precinct captain, but he was precinct captain in name only; but the real captain was a White person who lived out in Beverly, who got credit for everything that Black people did and that had the big job and I resented that. And the aldermen at that time had two organizations-one for the Black captains and one for the White captains and they were on either side of Ashland and the captains met at a little hole in the wall on the other side of Ashland and they had nice little headquarters for the white folks and when I found out I decided that we need to make a move, so I decide to run myself. So I did that (Rogers, 1997, p. 87).

Anna Langford cited a specific court case as critical in her experience as a black woman attorney that greatly influenced her afritics, or her political style. Langford stated:

> I represented a woman who was charged with murder, and the attitude was this man was beating her and hitting her and dragging her around and bloodying her all up and beating and kicking her in the stomach, and she reached and got a gun and shot and killed him, and the judge wanted to know if they were still going together or had they broken up (humorously). I said, "Judge, what difference does it make? Does this justify open season on women-that is Black women (Rogers, 1997, p. 132)?

Chicago's first African American alderwoman also described the competitive nature of law school and how her participation and knowledge acquired in formal education influenced and shaped her political style. Langford recalled:

> John Marshall Law School. I took pre-law at Roosevelt. I finished law school 21 years from the day I got my law degree in '56. Dean Lee was a tyrant. We'd have a class, and he'd ask a question, and finally he asked me, and I said, "I don't know,"and he said, "Well, if she doesn't know nobody knows...That's the way he started treating me...I finished at the top of my class. In fact there were only two of us [Black]in a class of almost 400 that passed the Illinois Bar...(Rogers, 1997, p. 117).

Dorothy Tillman's afritics are evidenced by her service as a member of the Chicago City Council and by her participation in the Civil Rights Movement. Dorothy Tillman, an Alabama native, was appointed in 1983 and subsequently won the election in 1985 to maintain her seat as Third Ward Alderwoman. Tillman grew up in the Civil Rights Movement and was a member of Dr. King's staff. She was one of King's trainees and a field organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Tillman was one of the first ten people to march into Selma to fight for the right to vote. She was on the Edmund Petis Bridge renowned for the attention it brought to the voting rights bill.

At the age of sixteen, Tillman found herself working with Dr. King and came to Chicago on what was called a A Northern Tour. Dorothy returned to Chicago at the request of Dr. King in October 1965. Her return marked her entry into Chicago politics. Dorothy's afritics is seen by her fight for liberation and the eradication of oppression.
She stated:

> I came to Chicago very different to fight and free these people up
> Here they were more frightened than the people in Selma, or Alabama.
> You know Daly had to give you your job done this, done that, and
> they had straw bosses. It was the same system, but it was worse
> because these people thought they were free and had something. It
> was an urban plantation it was far worse than the southern
> plantation, to me in my opinion (Rogers, 1997, p. 86).

Tillman's encounter with Chicago politics set the stage for her afritics. She stated:

> I'd never seen such dishonest White people until I got here; and also, I'd never seen Black people stand up against other Black folks like that. These folks, ooh, it was a rude awakening! And that was my first venture in Chicago, and we organized for open housing, we fought for open housing, we marched in Grant Park, we marched all over (Rodgers, 1997, p. 93).

Carol Moseley Braun's afritics are displayed through a variety of government initiatives and service. The former U.S. Senator was the first African American woman to serve in the Senate. Braun was also the Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois. Braun, an alumnus of The University of Chicago Law School discussed her afritics:

> When I got to the State Legislature I knew and remembered, I had been a U.S. attorney so I knew how and tried a number of cases regarding the big issues of our time regarding health care and housing cases. So, I knew kind of the federal law in a number of the areas such as housing, environment and/or health care (Rogers, 1997, p. 117).

Attorney Braun also reflected upon her early years of activism and revealed that her afritics is an expression of her humanity:

> I was involved, of course, in the march with Dr. King when I was a teenager. I was sixteen when I marched with him; I was 16 or 15. Had been friends with Fred Hampton and involved with a number of my friends who were Black Panthers and activist students at the time, and so I was kind of tangential to those efforts. It's very much a struggle to express my own humanity, in the sense that my folks never gave me a sense of limitations based on my gender or based on race. They gave me the notion that my duty was to be and do the best job I could where I was planted and those kinds of things and that neither race nor gender would stand in the way. (Rogers, 1997, pp. 85,128).

Summary

This paper has theorized about the politics of African-American political leaders by providing a discussion for afritics and politics. This discussion begins with the claim that politics does not always work for the betterment of all, and that political power is wielded or used against those on the margins. Politics, then, is the perogative of the powerful. The research revealed that the women studied have a political style that is consistent with what is termed as Aafritics,which is using politics to promote the potential of the powerless. Second, a history of afritics was provided as evidenced by the lives and works of Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, Fannie Lou Hamer, Mary Church Terrell, and Shirley Chisolm. This history in the afritics of these women provides a context for future African American political leaders.

Third, the paper examined the contemporary afritics of Chicago's first African American council woman, Anna Langford, Alderwoman Dorothy Tillman and former U.S. Senator Carol Moseley Braun. These contemporary women political leaders, echo the afritics of those African-American women political leaders who preceded them. Chicago's first African American council woman, Anna Langford's afritics are marked by her perspectives on issues of race, class, and gender as well as her experiences acquired through non-formal and formal education. Langford, a John Marshall Law School graduate described how experiences in Law School and Chicago politics were critical in the formation of her political style and adult leadership development. Chicago Alderwoman Dorothy Tillman's afritics are marked by her grassroots participation and by her service on the Chicago City Council. Tillman challenges racism, classism, and, oppression whether it is on the streets or on the City Council floor. Dorothy Tillman=s immersion into afritics began with her participation in the Civil Rights Movement where she worked directly with and for Dr. King. Through her participation in this transformative social movement, Dorothy Tillman was baptized into the struggle for civil rights. Tillman's afritics have allowed her to take what she had acquired and learned Aoutside of the box to propose change Ainside the box via her service on the Chicago City Council.

The afritics of former U.S. Senator Carol Moseley Braun were demonstrated when she marched with Dr. King as a student activist in the civil rights era and being tangential to the efforts of the Black Panther Party. Moseley Braun's afritics are further evidenced by her struggle to express her own humanity and to do the best job she could wherever she was promoting the cause of humanity. Carol Moseley Braun, a University of Chicago Law School graduate, is highly knowledgeable about what occurs both Ainside and outside the box. Her afritics are highly polished. She is highly knowledgeable of the formal as well as the non-formal ways of knowing. As a result of her formal education, extensive government service, and extensive knowledge and networks both Ainside and outside the box, she became the first African-American woman elected to the U.S. Senate.

The findings in this paper hold vital implications for those of the African diaspora because it contributes to the literature relative to race and the reluctance of mainstream adult educators to readily address race, class, and gender and their impact on adult learners and leaders. Findings in this paper also suggest that afritics provides adult educators with a better understanding of the lived experiences of African-American women political leaders. Finally, this paper demonstrates that there are other perspectives in understanding the diverse nature of adults as leaders and learners in society. Moreover, with regard to diverse voices we witness the voices of African American women as political leaders using their "afritics" on the ground and in the community.

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Constructing Curriculum in and for Alternative Settings: Designing a Quality Community-based Art and Entrepreneurship Program Model for Inner City Youth

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Introduction

Early Experiences: Laying the Foundation

In this introduction I reflect on the course that prompted further inquiry in art and entrepreneurship as vehicles of learning, sharing and empowering.

In the late-eighties, I had the opportunity to work as a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Small Entrepreneur Development (SED) program in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. During my volunteer service there, I worked as one of two artistic designers assigned to the country. In this capacity, my primary responsibilities were assisting artisans perfect the quality of their goods, helping them develop market outlets, and assisting them with basic business management techniques so that each of their enterprises would become a greater source of income. The goal of Peace Corps' SED program is to help nurture promising artisans at the infancy of their developing enterprise, permitting each to become independent and self-sustaining as they mature and develop.

I worked with a variety of artisans, from semi-precious stone carvers and lamp manufacturers to clothing designers and shoemakers. The small businesses I assisted were typically made up of men and women of varying ages working together, side-by-side creating works that were skillfully executed art pieces. Yet regardless of their age, all were required to uphold the same standard of quality and productivity when making their pieces. Captivated by the artisans' remarkable skill and commendable craftsmanship, I would ask myself, "how does the quality of their work arrive at such an exceptional level? Given the limitations, under which they created, enduring hardships of electricity and water, how do they continue to maintain such a consistently high level of accuracy and quality? What drives them to do what they do?" and, "How and why did they begin?" The "jois de vivre" spirit of the artisans that I witnessed greatly impacted me.

In spite of the artisans' modest financial gains, each possessed imagination and vision to create for himself or herself an environment that made for a satisfying, productive and comfortable lifestyle. Conversely, these same standards of comfort differed greatly from those shared by the economically and educationally disenfranchised African Americans living in many urban communities in the United States.

From this experience in the Dominican Republic emerged a Freirean ideology that evolved through the lives of a creative, empowered group of people. With creating at the center of each artisan's daily process, longstanding social and political issues transposed themselves into behaviors and actions of empowerment, creating alliances and establishing deeper forms of community (Freire, 1993). Indeed, Peace Corps' SED program, in collaboration with local business, national and international organizations, and financial institutions, created a climate that fostered self-empowerment among a community of many economically disadvantaged individuals. While intimately involved in what was for me a highly impressionable experience, I began envisioning how a similar program model would be equally effective in the United States, specifically in an inner-city urban environment.

I realized from this experience that many African Americans living in inner city communities shared some of the same inequalities and disparities as the Dominicans with whom I had been living and working. Limited choices with respect to employment opportunities, financial disenfranchisement, poor living conditions, low-income neighborhoods, poorly equipped or insufficient educational institutions, were some of the many disparities shared by both groups. Within both groups however, was the enormous potential of creating lucrative opportunities that easily drew on personal interests, gifts and talents. In the United States among the African American community, "education is key to economic and social well-being. Those who eschew or are disserved by the educational system are hard pressed to survive on their own, let alone flourish in their quality of life" (Tidwell, 1997, p. 33). The inequalities that Kozol (1992) suggests, and that are pertinent here, are those that are imposed on oppressed minority groups involuntarily by government, where unequal educational opportunities and economic disparities affect occupational opportunities, and thus affect one's quality of life.

> In many urban areas the educational system for the primary and secondary grades has been a dismal failure in affording black students the academic preparation they need to succeed in our credentials-oriented, skills-demanding society (Tidwell, 1997, p. 69).

I greatly admired the artisans' focus, drive and impersuadable spirit in the face of hardships. Though just a child at the time, I was reminded of the similar hardships that many African Americans faced in the sixties, when marches and other public displays for justice and equality were necessary to achieve what appeared to be insurmountable odds. My admiration for the artisans led me to examine the inspiration behind their creative energies. This experience formed the impetus for my research.

Purpose

American children and youth today from inner city communities, live in a different world than that of their grandparents. In many ways it is a better world, more people are better fed, better educated and free from many life-threatening childhood diseases. However, not all children and youth share these advantages equally. Many African American children and youth, particularly those living in economically disadvantaged inner city communities do not (Rossi, 1994). Some youth face new hazards that were not even imagined by previous generations. Changing family life patterns have affected today's children. More than 30 years ago having a parent at home full time was the norm, today it is the exception. In many instances, children are left unattended and inadequately supervised, only to arrive to an empty home, or to the care of a sibling not yet fully responsible. African American youth living in inner city communities in stable families, thrive, receive considerable attention and support from parents, live in enriching neighborhoods, favorable surroundings, and have a voice regarding their own education. But, how does a child thrive, who does not have this support system in place? Given the circumstances under which some African American inner city children and youth live, surrounded by a non-supportive living environment or an environment plagued with "drugs, dangerous diversions of their communities, and apathy with regard to academic achievement", how do inner city youth grow and excel in spite of the adversity with which they are faced (Ball & Heath, 1993, p.70)? What role do community arts programs play in the lives of inner city youth? Why do community art programs attract, and how do they educate, empower and richly contribute to the lives of African American children and youth of inner city communities?

The purpose of this research is to construct a curriculum framework for developing a quality community-based art and entrepreneurship program model for African American youth living in inner city urban communities in the United States. This research examines through situational accounts, the qualities that attribute to the success of such a program, and I develop a curriculum framework addressing African American youth that attend art and entrepreneurship programs in inner city urban communities. This research explores the value of community-based entrepreneurship programs developed for inner city youth, and its impact on the local community.

The central research question is; how does curriculum influence the nature and quality of community-based art and entrepreneurship programs? I also look at how this specialized program impacts the lives of inner city youth that attend them. As is referenced in the title of this paper, "*Constructing Curriculum In and For Alternative Settings,*" I identify the inner city urban community as the *alternative setting* and the African American youth who reside there as some of the most valuable attributes of that community.

Ethnographic Inquiry & Case Study Research

This research is an ethnographic case study that uses a community-based art and entrepreneurship program as a model to explore the value that it has, and other such programs like it have in the inner city community. The selected program, Little Black Pearl Workshop is located in Chicago's Bronzeville community, a predominantly African American low- but increasingly mixed income community. I used ethnographic inquiry to guide my research. In documenting my explorations, I have kept field notes, photographic images and taped recordings. Spradley (1979) states:

> Ethnography yields empirical data about the lives of people in specific situations. It allows us to see alternative realities and modify our culture-bound theories of human behavior…ethnography offers other dividends to anyone involved in culture change, social planning, or trying to solve a wide range of human problems (p. 13).

I describe Little Black Pearl Workshop's program and emphasize how the curriculum impacts the outcome of creative pieces produced by its participants. From the information presented, I attempt to define what a community-based art and entrepreneurship program is, in the context of an inner city environment - a community whose population is largely African

American. I demonstrate how curriculum affects the nature and quality of these specialized programs.

By using case study inquiry, the particularity and complexity of very special interests are captured. Here the nature and value of art and entrepreneurship programs are highlighted. Most "cases of interest in education and social service are people and programs" (Stake, 1995, p. 1). Details of interaction with its contexts immerge naturally through case study. The contexts can be developed from many views; this case study draws from ethnographic and naturalistic inquiry. Naturalistic research cannot be framed in a definition but rather understood as a function of what the investigator does (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

> The set of activities an investigator actually engages in while conducting his research falls somewhere in the two-dimensional descriptive space. The first dimension, which is most frequently thought of in differentiating research activities, describes the degree of the investigator's influence upon, or manipulation of, the antecedent conditions of the behavior studied, on the assumption that the degree of such influence or manipulation may vary from high to low, or from much to none. The second dimension, which is less commonly considered than the first, describes the degree to which units are imposed by the investigator upon the behavior studied (Willems & Raush, 1969, p.46).

Fieldwork Summary

The fieldwork for this research was conducted during 2000 between February and August at Little Black Pearl Workshop. It is a non profit organization that teaches children and youth the profitable connection between art, business and academics. This program offers free year round after school and summer programs to children and youth between the ages of 10 through 19 years. It is a Black woman owned and operated business that has been in existence for six years and services the African American community. When participants enroll and attend this program many think that they are just attending another neighborhood art program, but they soon understand that it is a program that is very demanding and a step above most others. Here they learn to be proficient in their art making as well as young entrepreneurs. The "banking" concept of education that Freire (1993) speaks about is not carried out in this program, but rather exerts a problem-posing education methodology, which is the core of its teaching theory.

The Program

When participants enroll and attend, they receive a fake grant of $2,500 from which they can purchase their raw materials to create the products that they will be responsible for making throughout the session. They are given play money, a credit/debit card, artificial checks and ledger sheets. They learn about overhead costs such as insurance, rent, utilities, etc, which are deducted from their grant and are all a part of running a business. They also learn how to calculate percentages, since as part of the program, they earn a percentage of the total sales from their work. They sign a contract that lays out the terms under which they can participate in the program. The terms in the contract are essentially the rules of conduct, but they also punctuate clearly the expectation for each participant. Each participant must be able to read, understand, agree to and sign this document, which is required for full participation in the program.

The staff who facilitate the instruction of the youth in this program are seasoned artists. Each is full time salaried, and not contracted. They are the experts charged with selecting the types of activities that are to be explored in order for the products to be created. They are sensitive to the immediate needs of the participants, each of their skill and developmental levels, and respond appropriately. Additionally, the staff who make up this program are all from, and/or reside in the same community as the participants who attend the program. Because they share common sociocultural and historical backgrounds, the connectivity between staff and participant is quite favorable.

Little Black Pearl Workshop uses a client-centered curriculum with its children and youth. There are a variety of curricula designed to teach art to children, but because of the breadth of this paper, I will only discuss the two that are of particular importance to this research, they are child-centered and adult-centered. These names are given because of the emphasis on both the process and the end product. The process implies what is developed and created as a child engages in art making and also the end product which - highlights the emphasis of that process through the outcome. A child-centered arts-based curriculum is one that is designed to allow the child to explore materials and techniques through natural phenomena. There is little or no interference from adults in the creative process, and the child develops his or her own way of expressing art, usually at his or her own pace. Even though a child is introduced to a variety of materials and techniques, the applications used in making those objects are minor to the over-all significance of the connection to what the final product will ultimately become. The finished piece is usually a result of an intense exploratory process that is satisfactory primarily to the child.

An adult-centered arts-based curriculum is one that is designed to teach individuals to create at the adult level. Instruction is at the level of the adult, and considers where the adult is developmentally, however the information presented is at a mature level, for example, the vocabulary used when exploring a topic, the motivations expressed in examples given and the type of questions asked. Here, there is often specific criteria presented that the adult should be able to perform as a part of his/her creative process as well as outcomes achieved. But what happens when a mixture of both is applied to children and youth?

When applied to children and youth, this curriculum becomes one that is designed to train or directly influence the type, style and level of child art. On one hand the child is exposed to fundamental foundational information that is very deliberate in its attempts to influence creative outcomes. While at the same time, the child is also exposed to a much broader range of materials and techniques together with the child's own developmental ability for use and application. Though the child may also be introduced to materials or techniques for producing art, the emphasis on process to achieve specific outcomes is stressed as the materials and techniques are being explored.

This process is not equal to that of one designed for adults, but it systematizes the how and why creativity and performance is taking place. As a result the finished piece is usually one that is regarded as better than satisfactory because it meets specific criteria that moves it out of the category of art solely for arts sake, and places it into a functional domain. Because the child has limited experience about the criteria, the child relies on the adult instructor to define and approve what is satisfactory. The level of work executed has limited value when it does not meet specific criteria which means that the value of the pieces is satisfactory in that it meets the criteria in which it has been created, or other possible uses can be achieved from it.

The client-centered arts-based curricular is designed to teach individuals to create art pieces for others. Because this curriculum is used for children and youth, they are taught to: 1) Understand the criterion under which the piece is to be made, and 2) Use good judgment in executing that criterion in a way that would be aesthetically pleasing to someone other than themselves. The finished piece results as a combination of two sets of criteria. a). The piece is completed by a child and it should look as though it was completed by a child; embodying his or her ideals, spirit and a novice aesthetic quality, and b). The piece should have a high quality finish about it, which considers good use of color, design and composition. As part of the design process, these criterion have all been worked out and have received approval from adult instructors (experts), who coach them through their creative experience and process, and 3) The integrity of the intended image and idea is clearly conveyed and not ambiguous.

With the client-centered curriculum there is some interference by adults. The instruction, the process, and the way in which the youth are taught to approach what they do require a different level of sensitivity to achieve the specific outcome in the artwork produced. The pieces are considered products and are referred to as functional art objects. The work created is not art for art sake, but rather functional art objects that will serve a definite purpose for an individual.

Little Black Pearl Workshop has developed a climate and culture that teaches and trains children and youth how to be entrepreneurs in the discipline of art, how to create art pieces, how to move through the process as active problem solvers. When challenged with a design problem they are taught to respond to what will be created, how to move through the design and thought processes that will help them solve that initial problem, how to create, manage and control what they do as business. The exception of this program, setting it apart from most others, is that it operates out of professionalism and expects its participants to enter into, and develop their skills with a similar mindset.

Little Black Pearl Workshop is not the only such program of this kind, however, it is perhaps one of only a handful of programs in the nation who specifically considers itself an art and entrepreneurship program. There are other model programs that are responsible for fostering extraordinary life-changing experiences through art with children, youth and other inner city communities. Programs such as K.O.S., Kids of Survival in New York City, YA/YA, Young Artists/Young Aspirations in New Orleans, Louisiana and Harlem Textile Works also located in New York City are but a few of the many impressive programs effectively transforming the lives of inner city youth.

Some of the key characteristics that I found in Little Black Pearl Workshops program were the following:

(1) It serviced the community within which it was located by providing artistic, economic and educational empowerment to youth.
(2) Its instructional and administrative staff members either originated from, or resided in a community similar to the one in which they were working. And,
(3) Its program enforced a cultural pedagogy that successfully addressed the learning styles of the youth as well as helped participants experience some of the basic needs through art

while engaging in an entrepreneurial experience. These experiences were: identity, security, respect and recognition.

a). Identity of self and others,
b). Security in expressing oneself through a creative voice,
c). Respect for self and others while engaging in the creative process. And
d). Recognition of ideas through creative communication.

I discovered that this program dynamically vociferated these qualities. The environment, both physically and culturally, lent itself to the enjoyment of countless meaningful and special experiences by the participants. Many art educators and theorists have long supported the notion that all children should not be "expected to learn the same things in the same way" (Feldman, 1998, p. 2). Rossi (1994) suggests that when children and youth are in stimulating environments that are challenging they are successful because they are nurtured.

> If the educational environment is sensitive to the contexts of learning and thinking; if it is elicitous of learning and thinking; if it recognizes the importance of children's personal lenses; if it is mindful of providing situations that are personally meaningful, stimulating, and engaging; if it is encouraging of learning in the form of active and critical knowledge production; and if it is embedded in a web of social interrelationships, then integrated individuals will be nurtured. Integrated individuals will not. . .be driven to stand alone, inspired by self-interest. In contrast, they will work in partnership with others in the learning environment to develop their talents… (pp. 122-123).

In closing, I have found through my research that Little Black Pearl Workshop has done a tremendous service to inner city children and youth in preparing them to consider themselves as young entrepreneurs, preparing them to understand basic business fundamentals through art. This program deliberately shapes ideals and assists children and youth to realize their potential with immediate feedback, which has empowered and encouraged them to zealously persist in their creative efforts. This program has set the standard in the quality of product and in the specific curriculum designed for its program. In inner city communities where large numbers of African American families live, the educational and economic landscape is bleak. The educational curriculum does not equip youth with the tools that help prepare them to become independent thinkers, creative problem-solvers and adopt a mentality that expects exceptional performance as a the standard in their efforts and undertakings. The youth that attend succeed in their efforts and undertakings because they receive the support needed to nurture them along the way from a team of staff that are sensitized to the belief that all children can be successful when the standard of performance is excellence. There are no compromises!

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Expanding the Small Space:
Adult Education as Counter Colonial Force
Rastafari as an example of the potential of Adult Education to support a large view of social reality

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Abstract: Small space can also be seen in the way knowledge and knowing is perceived, created and reproduced. Mainstream studies appear to have ignored and marginalized the knowledge, perspectives and experiences of Afro-Caribbean people, especially the Rastafarians. The purpose of this phenomenological study is to offer a way of expanding the small space of knowing by looking at adult education as a counter colonial force. The question guiding this study is "What can adult educators learn from expanding the circle of knowledge/expanding the small space by including experiences and indigenous knowing from a third world perspective, specifically the Rastafarians.

Introduction

Rastafari arose as a movement of dissonance and protest against the British hegemonic oppression and dehumanization of the black masses of Jamaica. The movement came out of the social, political, religious and cultural consciousness of a people who found self-affirmation and cultural identity in Africa and their African disposition, as a means of surviving depersonalization and deprivation.

As much of the current research of Rastafarians show, Afro-Caribbean people have been actively involved in the fight for social justice and equality from the onset of slavery. Their cultural and political struggles grow out of a history of oppression that shaped, created and recreated in them a sense of "somebodiedness," knowledge and a deep commitment to their African identity. Rastafarians have struggled against racist oppression in both formal and overt ways and informal intangible covert ways.

Many Rastafarians are engaged in revitalizing their African identity and heritage in order to complete their liberation for the powers of Babylon (Government, The System).
Rex Nettleford, a leading authority on Jamaican culture, describes the emergence and evolution of Rastafari as a quest for being "liberated from the obscurity of themselves." Dennis Forthye (1983) describes the Rastafari as a movement that is preoccupied with the cultural identity of the African Diaspora. Rastafarianism is the first mass movement among West Indians preoccupied with the task of looking into themselves and asking the fundamental question, Who am I? or What am I (p. 133)?

Literature Review

There are at least three perspectives from which the significance of this study may be judged. The first is the contribution to the existing body of literature that provides an analytic treatment of the various aspects of the Jamaican society and culture. The second is its contribution to the quest for answers to questions that constitute the nation-building agenda for post-colonial society. And third is the ability for adult education to be about the nature of nation building.

Leonard Barrett's Sun and Drum for example is helpful to understanding the African background of the worldview and cosmology of rural Jamaica. Rex Nettleford (1978) holds extensive significance in terms of its understanding of the broad matrix of the Jamaican society. He raises the question of cultural identity in the Caribbean with special reference to Jamaica. Chevannes (1994) and Anthology of Murrell, Spenser and Mcfarlane (1998) provides an analysis and implications of Rastafari both in Jamaica and the United States. Morse (1984) relates political and social considerations to the evolution of popular Jamaican song. Whitney and Hussey (1982), White (1983) and Davis (1984) provided biographical treatments of Bob Marley. Mulvanney (1990) provides a sourcebook and dictionary of Rastafari and Reggae.

Most recently there have been studies undertaken on Reggae culture that hold significance and promise. The work of Osula (1984) provides an analysis of the lyrics of protest reggae in relation to Jamaica's search for identity. Mulvaney (1985) conducted a study based on the assumptions that music represents a potential medium for political and cultural influence. King (1997) study draws on social movement theory and protest music in order to trace the development of reggae music. He examines the music of the period 1959-1971, identifying it with Rastafari, recognized as a social movement that gave voice to Jamaica's poor black communities. These works indicate that the cultural products of Jamaica hold tremendous promise in testing established theories in various disciplines.

Discussion

The Rastafarian movement contributes to the growing body of knowledge in adult education, as the members of the Rastafarian movement as well as those who live according to the tenets of the movement, learned about their identity and knowledge both formally and informally. It is clear from the Rastafarian movement that learning takes
place within the community. It also shows that adults can create their own agenda for learning and incorporate that in the cultural and educational lessons of its people. It can be noted that the members of the movement were attempting to be counterhegemonic.

The Rastafarian movement as counterhegemonic challenged the essence of the hegemonic vision of the Government of Jamaica. Counterhegemonic activism according to Gramsci (1971) argues that the elites in western industrial nations maintained control not only through coercion but primarily by securing the consent of the masses to the prevailing distribution of wealth and power. The ideas, values, beliefs and practices that are hegemonic in a society legitimize existing arrangements as natural, reasonable and inevitable while rendering alternative concepts of how the world might be reconstituted as naïve, impractical, or foolish. In this way, the cultural hegemony that sustains elite rule greatly inhibits the appearance and proliferation of potent oppositional forces.

At the same time, Gramsci understood the mass consciousness was far more complex than this. He recognized that the consciousness of most people are conflicted by a mixture of worldview formed by how one actually experiences life on a daily basis and a worldview transmitted through the multiple institutions of civil society that rationalizes the status quo. The effect of this contradictory consciousness, Gramsci contented, was to immobilize groups from acting on the very real grievance that they feel. What is needed according to Gramsci is a mass movement that contests the cultural hegemony that undergrids elite power while advancing novel conceptions of the world that gives meaning to how most people experience their lives. The goal is to make coherent the contradictory consciousness of the masses by promoting a counterhegemonic vision that would enable subordinate groups to interpret the world anew and in the process, point the way to a just political order. Thus counterhegemonic activism produces cultural change that facilitates political change.

The precise content of counterhegemonic vision and cultural/political change can be examined through the understanding of the ideals of the Rastafarian Movement. The Rastafarian Movement rejects the domination of one group over another. Members of the movement have created a sense of pride and dignity through cultural change, which includes, language, symbols and beliefs. The ideas of cultural change promote the feelings of pride and dignity and create a sense of shared reality among its members. Once this shared reality can be experienced, it can fuel the movement to seek out political changes as well. The Rastafarian Movement urges people of like minds to come together and take command of their destiny. "Until we come together and govern ourselves, we are going nowhere" (interview with Asher, June 10, 1999). It is nation-building time.

In light of the conclusions reached, it is hoped that a greater understanding of the effects of colonialization, and de-colonialization and the methods that oppressed peoples cope with these forces will be revealed. It is also hoped that through the legitimization of knowledge, the Rastafarian Movement can be viewed as a site for new learning. It is through the inclusion of the contributions of the Rastafarian Movement to the knowledge base of social movements, we can expand the small space of knowing.

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I Think I Can Cognitions

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Abstract: Students who repeatedly score below average on standardized tests over many years are especially at risk of developing a lack of motivation to strive toward higher education. This study examines the effects of repeated standardized testing on academic efficacy levels, and postsecondary educational aspirations of students at a mid-western inner city high school. It is hypothesized that repeated testing of minority students encourages the development of low levels of academic efficacy. Data from demographic databases are examined to investigate the above hypothesis. Intervention strategies are discussed.

Illinois School Board of Education administered the Illinois Goal Assessment Program (IGAP) tests to students annually. IGAP began slowly in 1988, testing at grades 3rd, 6th and 8th, in reading only. In 1989, the state of Illinois added math tests, in 1990, language arts tests were added, in 1991, science tests, and in 1992 social studies tests were added. IGAP testing ended in most of Illinois state schools when ISAT testing began in 1999. Currently, reading, writing, and math tests are given in ISAT at 3rd, 6th, 8th and 10th grades. Students in 4th, 7th, and 11th grades are tested with ISAT in science and social studies (see dir/queryschl.hts.).

IGAP and ISAT testing programs have the unique purpose of indirectly assessing school districts and teacher performance based on students test scores. What students should know at each grade level has become the yardstick for monitoring the progress of school districts in achieving Illinois state educational goals. Interminable standardized testing of students with cultural differences is not an accurate measure of the performance of educational institutions (Mehrens, 1998). Since, historically, a disproportionate number of minority students show low or failing scores on standardized tests due to the structural and norm standard conditions used to create the test items (Drummond, 1992). In addition, prior research (Reynolds and Brown, 1984) on standardized testing of minority students reveal systematic bias related to both social and economic factors. The bias in standardized testing of Black and Hispanic children is well documented in the literature.

A salient purpose of lower education is to lay the foundation for the achievement of higher education and the development of advanced intellectual skills. A study conducted by Anderson (1985) revealed a high correlation between the future academic aspirations of students and their prior academic performances. An examination of the influences of repeated standardized testing and minority students' lack of motivation to seek higher education provide an important connection for educators and parents to understand, "why Johnny is not striving to go to college."

The examination of several Chicago high school communities shows failing scores on IGAP tests compared to state averages (see dir/queryschl.hts), along with large percentages of college age residents not attending college. In one community of approximately 4,435 college age residents (between the ages of 19 and 24), only 1,695 students were reported to be attending college (see carpitreg.html). These state of Illinois statistics show that 61 percent of the high school graduates in this community did not pursue advanced education. Another Chicago south side community of 5,548 college age residents; 53 percent were not enrolled in school. The population of Black American college age residents in the Chicago areas examined total approximately 33,970. The overall mean percentage of those student not enrolled in college was an unfortunate 36 percent (see carpitreg.html). What is the role, if any, that continuous standardized testing play throughout the schooling careers of minority children? Is the association between repeated standardized testing and levels of academic efficacy theoretically supported? Social learning theorists argue that differences in behaviors result from an accumulated history of specific experiences in a particular situation.

Albert Bandura's (1977) conception of the cognitive social learning theory of self-efficacy explains that personal efficacy involves the belief that we "can" successfully perform the behaviors required to achieve a desired goal. This theory has two components: (1) response-outcome expectancy, and (2) efficacy expectations. Response-outcome expectancy is defined as, an individual's evaluation that a certain behavior or action will lead to a certain outcome, such as "if I do this, then I will get that." Whereas, efficacy expectation is the belief that one can successfully carry out the required action to achieve the desired outcome, such as " I know I can do this."

Continuous standardized testing of minority children during their formative years when meta cognitive abilities are in early stages of development influence the construction of self-related cognitions. Cognitions are mental motors that work automatically to guide actions and behaviors. A translation of Bandura's (1993) efficacy expectation illuminates descriptively as, "I think I can cognitions." "I think I can cognitions"are thoughts involving one's ability to successfully achieve a desired outcome. The mental structures develop during the social, emotional and thinking interactions of students and serve as "internal working models" that guide future behaviors (Bowlby, 1969, 1982). Students develop thousands of thought connections involving social and academic experiences that are similar, opposites, causal-effective, categorical, metaphoric, et cetera. One thought connects related thoughts in a massive network of brain cells powered by electrical impulses. Once students develop hopeless thoughts regarding their academic performance; related thoughts connect and expand into future expectational cognitions following the same path of knowledge. The accumulation of these related cognitions forms the student's academic self concept (Marsh, 1990).

Educational intervention strategies for students at risk of developing low levels of academic efficacy can be implemented early in the schooling process. Sroufe, et al (1992) noted that during middle childhood, ages 6-12 years children develop the ability to acquire meta cognitive skills (thinking about how one is thinking). Meta cognitive strategies enable children to examine their cognitions and identify low levels of academic efficacy. Cognitions become less automatic when individuals are aware of their existence. An awareness of thoughts regarding educational performance and goals, and the reasons such thoughts are present will enable minority students to better manage the effects of repeated IGAP and ISAT testing.

In addition, to exert a community-wide effort, social and educational programs, such as Talent Search and Upward Bound may provide workshops for college-aged residents who are not attending college due to low levels of academic efficacy. Implementing workshops and seminars that teach students an awareness of the mental components which facilitates "I Think I Can" cognitions will help students to correct defeating beliefs about their academic abilities. Tutorial programs are also an excellent solution in aiding students who have deficits in background knowledge due to a lack of academic effort in prior grades.

These programs will provide students with social and learning experiences that produce higher levels of academic efficacy, especially in the area of efficacy expectation. Consequently, a greater percentage of minority students will strive toward higher education and the development of advanced intellectual skills.

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The Academic Success of Unmarried African-American Female High School Students Who Are Parenting: A Preliminary Analysis

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Abstract: The academic success of female African-American high school students who are parenting one or more children was investigated. Through semi-structured interview, external and internal factors contributing to academic success were explored. Analysis of preliminary findings indicates a positive relationship between support variables and academic success of these students.

Problem Statement and Rationale

Parenting African-American high school students are at high risk for academic failure. Among factors likely to contribute to their difficulties in school are lack of childcare, financial strain and lack of social support. Due to some or all of these factors, many parenting students do not complete their high school education. However, some manage to remain in school in spite of the challenges present in their lives.

Researchers know much about the difficulties that cause adolescent parents to drop out of school, but little is known about specific factors that contribute to the academic success of students who stay in and graduate. Research indicates several factors that may contribute to their success. Among these factors are various sources of social support (e.g. family, peer, community and school), high academic self-concept, parental expectations, and accessible childcare. If educators examine these factors, perhaps they can learn how to better assist such "at-risk" students to remain in school and graduate. The purpose of this study is to explore factors that contribute to the academic success of African-American adolescent parents.

Theoretical Framework and Purpose

Environmental Systems Model. Bronfenbrenner's environmental systems model of development (1976) provides insight into the importance of considering external influences of the environment when conducting educational research. Bronfenbrenner highlights the interactional relationship between 4 social levels of influence present in the individual's environment. Each of these four systems is described below:

1. *Microsystem*: the relationships within the individual's immediate environment (e.g. family, peers, teachers)
2. *Mesosystem*: the interaction between the various microsystems (e.g. family and school; school and peers; family and peers)
3. *Exosystem*: the broader social structure of the environment encompassing the micro and meso systems (e.g. government agencies, school administration, neighborhood, mass media)

4. *Macrosystem*: the cultural patterns of the environment generating the ideology, values, and beliefs of the parent culture that provide the basis for the exo, meso, and micro systems.

Symbolic Interactionism. When considering factors influencing academic success, it is important that internal factors are examined. Mead's theory of symbolic interactionism (1934) provides a framework for investigating individuals' perceptions, interpretations, and reactions regarding their environment. It is possible that African-American pregnant or parenting students' perceptions of their situation and/or support relationships may mediate their beliefs about themselves and subsequently their academic success. This theory provides a useful framework by which to investigate the individual's internal perceptions and conceptualizations regarding the level of academic success. Together, both perspectives provide theoretical foundations supporting a complete understanding of the academic success of "at-risk" African-American female high school students.

Purpose. The general goal of this study is to identify environmental and individual factors that contribute to the *academic success* of female African-American high school students who are parenting one or more children. For purposes of this study, "academic success" is defined as staying in school, maintaining a passing (2.5 or better on a 5.0 scale) grade point average, and planning to graduate. This study is a work in progress. Findings from preliminary analyses of interview data are presented and discussed.

Using an Environmental Systems Model and foundations from Symbolic Interactionism, the following factors were investigated as they contribute to the *academic success* of "at-risk" students:

1. *Custodial* and *peer support* (Microsystem)
2. *Socioeconomic status* (SES) (Mesosystem)
3. *Community support* (Exosystem)
4. *Institutional support* (Exosystsem)
5. *Academic self-concept* (Symbolic Interactionism)

This study is exploratory and investigated research questions regarding the roles of each of the variables above. A general research question is: To what extent do each mediate student academic success? A positive relationship is expected between "at-risk" African-American high school students' academic success, SES, academic self-concept, and perceived social and educational support.

Review of the literature

Review of the literature found few studies that specifically investigate factors related to the academic achievement of pregnant and/or parenting high school students. Mott & Marsiglio (1985) examined data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY), in which a nationally representative sample was interviewed in 1979. Data on females age 20-26 in 1983 were compiled and analyzed. Patterns of high school completion, dropping out and childbirth were the focus of the investigation. They found that students who gave birth while enrolled in high school were considerably less likely to complete high school than those who had waited until they were in their 20's to give birth. According to this finding, students who give birth during high school have reduced chances of graduating.

Upchurch and McCarthy (1990) also examined data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) when the participants were interviewed again in 1986. Data on the timing of first childbearing and completion of high school for women were examined. Data on African-American, Hispanic and Caucasian women were compiled and compared. Overall, having a baby did not predict dropping out of school. Women who remained in school while parenting were just as likely to graduate as those women who did not become parents during high school. Conversely, those students that became parents and subsequently dropped out were less likely to complete school and graduate. It seems that the important thing is for pregnant and parenting students to remain in school.

Upchurch and McCarthy also found that in this sample, young African-American women were over six times more likely to give birth while still in school than young Caucasian women and nearly three times more likely than Hispanic youth. These findings indicate that adolescent pregnancy seems a substantially bigger problem among minority populations.

Upchurch & McCarthy (1989) examined trends in adolescent childbearing and completion of high school from the 1950's to the late 1980's. From 1950 to 1986, the rates of high school completion for students who gave birth during high school nearly tripled, however, the increases did not occur equally across all racial and socioeconomic groups. Students from less economically advantaged backgrounds were less likely to graduate than those from more advantaged backgrounds. So, one can conclude that there may be differences that are related to socioeconomic status and racial background.

Prater (1992), one of few who had examined specific factors regarding academic success, investigated the hardships faced by single, parenting African-American adolescent students and their perceptions of the social and educational support they received. These students attended an alternative high school for parenting teens. Prater concluded that raising a child did, in fact, present various obstacles. Grades were lower and attendance frequently interrupted due to child-care issues. Participants consistently reported difficulty in managing homework and domestic duties. In addition, participants reported their inability to enjoy extracurricular activities in school.

Participants reported that support came in various forms (e.g. childcare, teacher cooperation, etc.) through the alternative school, however they reported indifferent treatment from community service workers accessed through the alternative school setting. Students perceived some workers as insensitive to their problems and services were sometimes inaccessible. Prater concluded that these services would better serve intended populations through improved accessibility and employee sensitivity to students.

Despite hardships, participants reported that they valued education. Students felt that support provided by the alternative school for parenting teens made childrearing and completing high school easier. Prater's investigation of the educational pursuit of these students within this specific context alludes to an interaction between various factors related to the circumstances of these students.

The aforementioned studies discuss particular trends that relate to pregnant or parenting adolescents and their school success. However, with the exception of Prater (1992), none seem to go in depth about the factors that mediate the academic performance and eventual graduation of high school pregnant and/or parenting high school students. Further, with the exception of Prater, none of them examine the specific context within which these students manage their busy lives or their beliefs about education. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the specific factors that mediate academic success for pregnant and/or parenting high school students.

More research is needed to investigate and highlight internal and external factors that mediate academic success in this particular group. Most importantly for educators, research should elucidate relevant institutional factors to determine steps that can be taken by educational institutions to facilitate a higher level of academic performance for these students.

Method

Participants. Participants were nine female African-American adolescent parents from a midwestern high school in a predominantly African-American suburb. The high school was equipped with a comprehensive day care program in a separate building on campus. All participants were involved with this program. Participants were between the ages of 16 and 18 years and in 10th through 12th grades. All were parents and unmarried, though some (n=6) were involved with a boyfriend. Only three were involved with the father of their child. One participant had two children. All others had one child. None were pregnant. Age of first birth ranged between 14 and 17 years. Four students held part time jobs and only one student was involved in a school-based extracurricular activity. Most participants resided with family (e.g. mother, siblings, aunt, etc.) Two participants were residentially displaced at the time of interview, but have since found more stable living arrangements

Data Collection and Analyses. Data was collected through qualitative methods of inquiry. Semi-structured interview and paper-and-pencil survey forms were used. Interviews were audio taped. After data collection, information was organized and analyzed through theme identification and extraction. The use of qualitative data analysis software made the analysis process more efficient.

Findings and Discussion

Salient Themes. Students discussed their feelings regarding different types of social support, self-beliefs and future goals and how these things impact attainment of their high school diploma. Participants also discussed future plans, goals and their expectations regarding social support after high school. Preliminary themes extracted from interview data included nuances of *appreciation*, *confidence*, and *uncertainty*.

Most participants discussed high levels of social support from family, close friends and school. Regarding specific sources of support, participants expressed appreciation for the kindness and support close friends and family ("… they help a lot with watching [her] and stuff like that…" "…my close friend…she's always there for me…") and the school day care center and people who work there. Students felt that the day care program in particular was an essential part of their academic success ("…if I didn't have this place, I wouldn't know what to do…I probably wouldn't be coming to school and stuff..."). Students recognized the value of the on-campus day care program.

These students also expressed a sense of confidence regarding the support of the center and their ability to complete high school. They firmly trusted in the program, its staff and services. The trust and confidence in the program seemed to give way to a sense of confidence in their own ability to complete high school (" I may have to get up that thirty minutes earlier, but [I'm going to] do it…).

When asked about future goals and plans many students expressed considerable uncertainty. Some expressed desires to attend a four-year college or junior college, but many were uncertain about the support they would receive from those institutions. Some were also uncertain regarding future family support as well. From those who expressed plans for college, most were uncertain about the areas they would study once enrolled. The participants who were seniors were expectedly more decided, but were also somewhat uncertain about their ability to attain a college degree while raising a small child. Students whose family encouraged them to seek higher education were less uncertain about their ability to work toward and attain a college degree.

These preliminary findings attest to some relevant factors related to the academic success of these young women. Social support from close friends, family and school services such as the day care program provide immense assistance to these young parents. It is important to note that many of them believe that this support is essential to their completion of high school. Additionally, social support seemed to mediate their self-beliefs about finishing high school. These findings are a precursor to further investigation. This is a work in progress. Plans are underway to investigate beliefs of the day care center staff and teachers. Also, data collected from these participants on academic self-concept and social support using paper-and pencil measures (Self Concept of Academic Ability Scale, Brookover, 1962; Child and Adolescent Social Support Scale) have yet to be analyzed. The report of final analyses will be a more complete picture of the factors that mediate academic success for parenting unmarried female African-American high school students.

However extensive the present and planned research endeavors of this study, there are many limitations and other possible areas of exploration. While reviewing findings of this study, it is important to remember that they are preliminary and not completely conclusive. Additionally, there are other variables to be considered for further research. Ogbu (1998) presents a cultural-ecological theory of school performance for minority students. African-American students seem to face academic difficulty in general when compared to their White counterparts. Ogbu attributes these difficulties to cultural differences. Does the fact that they are Black *and* young parents impact their academic performance? This is an area deserving of investigation. Additionally, all participants in this study were from the same socioeconomic area, thus providing for little variance in the area of SES. Perhaps a look at parenting students from affluent families is in order.

Of course, this list of other areas for investigation is not exhaustive. The issues that concern academic success of adolescent parents and minority students are extremely complex; hence, they cannot be studied with a minimal amount of time and effort.

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Biographical Sketches of Authors

Willie Ashford Jr. is a doctoral student in Adult Continuing Education at Northern Illinois University. He is a former police officer, mental health worker and college lecturer on psychiatric rehabilitation. Will was a high school drop-out who returned to education in his 30's as a way of self- affirmation and commitment to service. Will is currently the coordinator of the Transfer Center at Rock Valley Community College. Research interests are community education, higher education completion for underrepresented groups and African American psychology.

Russell Benjamin was born in Lamar, South Carolina. The second of five children, he was raised in Bishopville, South Carolina, by his parents, Louise Benjamin and the late Jessie Benjamin. He earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in political Science from the University of South Carolina in 1985. Benjamin later enrolled in the graduate program in political science at the University of Florida. He received a Master of Arts in Political Science in 1991, and a graduate certificate in gerontology in 1992. In 1996, Benjamin earned a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Florida. His doctoral research focused upon the politics of black business development in two Florida cities, Daytona Beach and Jacksonville. He became an assistant professor of political science at Northeastern Illinois University in 1997. Benjamin's classes include American National Government, Minority Politics in the U.S., African American Politics and Social Change, and the Politics of Poverty. His research interests include black business development, the politics of welfare reform, communication patterns between blacks and whites during segregation, and the politics of race in the Caribbean.

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Phyllis Cunningham -Hired in 1976 by the NIU faculty to teach and direct the Region I service center, I have been a keen observer of the changes in the program that have occurred over the last 25 years. I define myself as an activist scholar and a co-learner with student and community intellectuals. My goal is to be a space maker at the university and in the community opening up social space for organic intellectuals on the ground.

Larinda Dixon has a Bachelor of Science degree from Hampton University, Masters of Science from St. Xavier University, and is a Doctoral Student at Northern Illinois University. She is a former faculty member of the Department of Nursing, Chicago State University and currently an Adjunct Faculty Member at University of St. Francis and Health Educator / Research Coordinator at University of Illinois.

Patricia B. Easley is a doctoral candidate in Adult Continuing Education at Northern Illinois University. Her dissertation interest is participatory research. Initially, her cognate was in HRD, however, after taking her first course in participatory research or PR, she was transformed as she learned that PR legitimizes the voices of those who are rarely heard outside their own communities. She envisioned her mother, neighbors, and others working on community problems with like-minded people throughout the west side. She thought ordinary people could become extraordinary leaders if they only had the opportunity. She saw a way, finally, where she could document the lived experiences of her friends and relatives and still be considered a legitimate researcher. Thus, a student of PR was born. Even though Pat has worked in HRD her entire adult life, she is committed to community education and empowerment through PR. One of her immediate goals is to merge the disciplines of science and PR through opportunities for scientific-community collaborations in such social movement areas as environmental justice.

Lori Ellens-Sanders is a second-year doctoral student at Loyola University at Chicago. Her areas of specialization are Curriculum, Instruction, and Educational Psychology and African-American literature. Ms. Ellens-Sanders is investigating how curricular enhancements will affect adolescent, African-American mothers' Practice GED and TABE scores. Ms. Ellens-Sanders is an Illinois Consortium for Educational Opportunities Program Fellow and a recipient of the First Baptist Church of Chicago's Outstanding Young Women Award.

Sylvia Fuentes holds a BA degree in Sociology with an emphasis in Criminology, a Ms.Ed in Adult Education and a Doctorate of Education with a cognate in Women's studies from Northern Illinois University. She is currently the Associate Director for the CHANCE Program and teaches a course on *La Chicana* and a course on diversity issues. Dr. Fuentes is currently working on a book entitled: The SÓl Sisters.

Melina L. Gallo has an earned doctorate in Adult Education from Northern Illinois University where she teaches workplace English as a Second Language, Communication, and Spanish as well as developing curriculum and web-based learning tools. She has a BA in Cultural Anthropology from University of Illinois at Chicago and an MA in Linguistics from Northeastern Illinois University.

Georges B. Germain received his M.D. in 1965 from the Universite d'Etat D' Haiti in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. He is a doctoral candidate at Northern Illinois University in the Department of Counseling, Adult and Health Education. His adult education experience includes neighborhood participation and education both in Haiti and in Chicago to promote learning and empowerment. Area of Study: social movements as sites for learning, community building and participatory research. Dissertation: A Study of the Lavalas Movement: As A Learning Site for Promoting Democracy and Civil Society.

Garth Gittens is an ordained minister and is presently pursuing his doctorate in Adult Education at Northern Illinois University. He married his childhood sweethear, Gillian and together they have two sons: Andre 19, who attends Portland State University and Gabriel an adorable 7 year old. As a professional he worked as a Quantity Surveyor and managed his own consulting firm. He served as a senior pastor for the past fifteen years in a number of churches in his home country of Trinidad and Tobago. As a church planter, Pastor Gittens planted the Arima Open Bible Church in Arima, Trinidad. The Church grew from 12 to 350 in the space of three and a half years. As an Evangelist Pastor Gittens held a number of revival meetings and workshops throughout the Caribbean; the United States; Guyana, in South America and the UK As a Bible Teacher, Pastor Gittens lectured in the Open Bible Institute for seven years. He taught in the following subject areas: Principles of leadership; the Gospel of John; Early Hebrew History; History of the Hebrew Prophets; Evangelistic Strategies; and the Inter-Testamental period.

Phyllis Ham Garth has an earned Doctorate in Education, Adult Continuing Education with an emphasis in Women's Studies (Northern Illinois University's Department of Leadership and Educational Policy Studies, College of Education), and holds a Master of Social Work Degree (University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration); a Master of Arts Degree in Human Relations Services (Governors State University, University Park, Illinois) with special emphasis in Generic Human Services (studying of the aged in Human Service Delivery Systems) and Corrections in Human Justice; and she holds a Bachelor of Arts Degree in the field of Sociology (Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois).

Phyllis Ham Garth is currently an Assistant Professor of Social Work at George Williams College of Aurora University, teaching social welfare policy and institutions, advance social work practice, research and cross-cultural social work practice; and former Chair of the Diversity Affairs Committee and Criminal Justice Management Institute Fellow of Aurora University. She is also a Part-Time Lecturer at the University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration specializing in cultural/human diversity, race, race relations, racism (individual and institutional), and the intersection of race, class and gender. Additionally, Ham Garth provides support and technical assistance to doctoral students and candidates, and is the co-facilitator of the Live Poets of Northern Illinois University and a member of NIU's Adult Education Graduate Program Advisory Council. Phyllis Ham Garth's academic and professional achievements, research interests and publications are recognized and listed in the Directory of American Scholars.

Amelia Jones Stevens is an Associate Professor of Nursing with the Chicago City Colleges (Olive-Harvey Campus). She entered nursing school in August, 1959 as a student at Provident Hospital School of Nursing, Chicago, Illinois. Upon graduation she received a Diploma in Nursing. Her interest in lifelong learning is exemplified by continued educational pursuits. She has earned: a Baccalaureate Degree inNnursing (BSN) from DePaul University (Chicago); a Master of Science in Nursing Degree (MSN) from the University of Illinois Chicago; an Educational Specialist Degree (Ed.S.) from Northern Illinois University (DeKalb); and is presently a doctoral candidate in Adult Education at Northern Illinois University. Professionally, she is certified as a Clinical Nurse Specialist by the American Nurses Association and has practiced thirty-nine years as a clinician, staff developer, and educator. Impetus for this study is derived from her collective experiences and interest in the experiences of other African-Americans who have elected to be nurses.

Roudell Kirkwood is a Doctoral Candidate in Adult Continuing Education, Counseling, Adult and Health Education at Northern Illinois University. (He is a founding member of the Live Poets Society of Northern Illinois University. The Live Poets Society provides support and technical assistance to doctoral students and candidates). He holds a Master of Science Degree in Industrial Technology and Educational Administration and has completed Post Master's work in Educational Administration. Additionally, he has a Bachelor of Science Degree in Industry and Technology (Secondary Education) with a concentration in metals.

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Roudell Kirkwood is currently Director and Principal of LakeView Technology Academy, a four year high school emphasizing manufacturing, engineering, technology and design in Pleasant Prairie, Wisconsin.

Karen Kjellquist-Gutiérrez lived in Cali, Colombia for 10 years. Upon returning to the United States she worked with a community based organization serving the Latino population in Rockford, IL. She received her M.A. in Spanish and Latin American Literature from Northern Illinois University in 1993. She has been a professor of Spanish at Northern Illinois University for six years. Currently she is completing her doctoral degree in the department of Adult Continuing Education. Area of Study: Feminist Popular Education as it relates to personal and political empowerment. Her dissertation topic is: A Case Study of a nonformal school for poor adult women in Estelí, Nicaragua.

Kimberly A. Mann received her Ph.D. from Loyola University of Chicago in May of 1999. She is currently an Assistant Professor of Social Work at Chicago State University. There, she is responsible for teaching beginning and advanced practice courses as well as curriculum development. Dr. Mann's interests for practice and research include clinical practice with children and families, the impact of trauma in the lives of youth, and clinical decision making.

Alexis D. McCoy has approximately seventeen (17) years of combined Human Resources experience from corporate and non-profit organizations. Her career started in 1984 with the City of Chicago in their Department of Personnel. She also has worked as a writer over the years, having been published in various community newspapers in Chicago.

Alexis has a Bachelor of Science (B.S.) degree in Management from the Illinois Institute of Technology (Chicago, Illinois), a Master of Business Administration (M.B.A.) degree in Management from Morgan State University (Baltimore, Maryland), and is currently pursuing a Doctorate in Education (Ed.D.) degree in Adult Continuing Education from Northern Illinois University (DeKalb, Illinois).

Currently, Alexis is Human Resources Manager at the Community and Economic Development Association of Cook County, Inc. (CEDA). Her interests include writing and traveling. She also collects Black cloth (rag) dolls and has an extensive collection of soul albums from the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's. She's an avid reader, specializing in Black literature and Black history and believes in knowing your heritage and culture.

John E. C. Porter, B.A, M.S. Ed has been an Academic Advisor at Chicago State University in the Continuing Education Department for the Nontraditional Degree Program for the past seven years. He is currently pursuing his Doctoral Degree at Northern Illinois University.

Wapula Nelly Raditloaneng graduated with a B.A., double major in Sociology/ Political Science (University of Botswana; Postgraduate diploma in Community water supply and sanitation, (1985, Loughborough University of technology, U.K.); Postgraduate diploma in Health education in developing countries, (1987, Leeds University, U.K.), and M.A. in Sociology of development, (1988, Essex university, UK). She is currently a fourth year doctoral student in Adult Education, (Fall 1997 to-date, Penn State University, University Park campus, USA).

She has a wealth of professional experience from four workplaces, first as a rural sociologist for the government of Botswana Applied Research Unit, (1983), then she joined De-Beers Botswana Diamond Mining as a training officer, (1989), UNICEF Botswana as a program officer, (1990) Social mobilization, and finally for the only University of Botswana as a lecturer in Adult Education (Jan. 1994 to date). Throughout her work life she has done part-time consultancy work for the government of Botswana ministries and international agencies including ODA, DANCED, SIDA and IUCN.

Barb Regan is currently employed at Homewood-Flossmoor High School, Flossmoor, IL. She has worked at the high school for the past seven years as a Library Media Specialist. Her responsibilities also included teaching Library Science and Audio Visual classes within the IMC Department. For the last four years (1997-2000) she has served as Summer School Principal at the same high school. In this capacity, she has had the experience of being fully in charge of an extensive program with enrollments over 1,400 students each summer. The school serves as a national test site; she works as the Test Center Supervisor for the National Testing Programs of ACT and SAT.

As an active member of the community, Barb Regan has served on a local high school Board of Education for 13 years, and has been a member of the League of Women Voters for 15 years. She has served as Council Member of the University of Illinois Extension Services for Cook County; Professional Studies Committee of Homewood-Flossmoor High School; Board of Directors of Women's Education and Research Institute, Inc.; Cable Commission; Governing Board of South Cook Organization for Public Education (representing more than 33 school districts); in addition to these services, she was also appointed by the Governor to the Education Consolidation Improvement Act, Chapter 2, Advisory Committee.

Doctoral Candidate – Education Administration – Northern Illinois University
Ed.S. – Education Administration – Northern Illinois University
M.A. – Education Administration – Governors State University
M.S. – Library Science and Communication Media – Chicago State University
M.S. – Education – Teaching of Reading – Chicago State University
B.S. – Education – Elementary Education – Chicago State University

Aquanette Rice-Charleston holds an earned doctorate in Adult Continuing Education (Northern Illinois University, Department of Leadership and Educational Policy Studies) with a cognate in Human Resource Development and Instructional Technology. Aquanette received a Master of Science in Education Degree and a Bachelor of Science Degree in Business, majoring in Human Resource Development and Instructional Technology from Northern Illinois University. Currently, she is the Associate Director of Employee Services and Human Resource Development for the Division of Finance and Facilities at Northern Illinois University (NIU). Prior to becoming Associate Director, she was the Coordinator for Recruitment, Training, Networking and Mentoring for Affirmative Action and Diversity Resources. In this role she was responsible for coordinating, developing, facilitating workshops, programs, and initiatives on discrimination, sexual harassment and recruitment for supportive professionals and operating staff employees at NIU. Aquanette Rice-Charleston is also adjunct faculty in the College of Education at NIU and School of New Learning (SNL) at DePaul University (Chicago). She was employed in the private sector for eight years and has been employed in higher education for seventeen years. Her current research and writing focuses on leadership, employment, discrimination, communication, and diversity.

Dr. Elice E. Rogers is currently Assistant Professor of Adult Learning and Development at Cleveland State University. Elice completed her doctorate in Adult Continuing Education at Northern Illinois University in December, 1997. Her dissertation is entitled, An Ethnographic Case Study of Chicago African American Female Political Leaders: Implications for Adult Continuing Education. Rogers has assisted in co-editing two textbooks and she has authored publications which have appeared in books, journals, and refereed conference proceedings in the field of Adult Continuing Education. Rogers has a chapter forthcoming entitled, Black Power: Chicago Politics and Social Movements:What Have We Learned? In Civil Rights, Black Arts, and the Black Power Movement in America by J. Conyers (Ed.). Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Hampshire, UK. Elice's NIU honors and recognition include the: Outstanding Woman Student Award, Department of Leadership and Educational Policy Services Award for Outstanding Service, Who's Who Among Students in Colleges and Universities, and the Outstanding Young Women of America Award.

Han Sik Shim is a doctoral student at NIU. He was born and lived in Korea until 1999. He worked at Korea Nationai Open University as a research assistant, LG Electronics Co. as a training and development planner, and Educom Co. in Korea as a planning executive.

Desire'e Simpson is an artist and educator who received her formal education in the United States and abroad. She received her Bachelor of Fine Arts Degree in Interior Architecture & Design from Parsons School of Design at the American University of Paris in 1985, and her Master of Science Degree in Education, Occupational Education from Chicago State University in 1995. Currently, Ms. Simpson is completing her Doctorate of Education in Art Education at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her dissertation topic is *Constructing Curriculum: Designing a Quality Community-based Art and Entrepreneurship Program Model for Inner City Youth.*

In addition to her academic preparation, Ms. Simpson is a member of the United States Armed Forces, an Army Reservist with the 416th Headquarters Corps of Engineers, Facility Engineers Group. Ms. Simpson served more than two years in the United States Peace Corps, as Artistic Designer in the Dominican Republic, assisting small entrepreneurs to perfect their products for local and international markets. She is a member of several organizations; Kappa Delta Pi International Honor Society of Education, Phi Delta Kappa International Society of Education and the International Society for Education through Art, to name a few. She has also been listed in "The National Registry of Who's Who," since 1999.

At present, Ms. Simpson creates functional art and teaches art to youth and adult students. She is also designing and developing programs for under-served youth and adults in urban communities. Much of Ms. Simpson's time focuses on designing artistic skill & development programs and projects using specialized curriculum methodologies specifically designed for the non-traditional learner.

Cathy Stanley is a doctoral candidate in the Counseling, Health and Adult Education Department at Northern Illinois University. She holds a Master of Social Work (MSW) Degree from Virginia Commonwealth University. Stanley is an Assistant Professor of Social Work at Northeastern Illinois University (Chicago, Illinois). Her area of concentration is in practice, field instruction and women's studies. Additionally, she has a small private practice focusing on women's issues. Current research interests include: Culture as a Way of Knowing, Women's Narrative and Social Movements.

Angeline Stuckey, MA, MGS is an instructor at the NIU Department of Literacy and a Doctoral applicant in cognitive psychology.

Tracey Stuckey is a Master's level student enrolled in both the Educational Psychology and Instructional Technology programs at Northern Illinois University. She has varied research interests that focus primarily on the adolescent and young adult minority populations in the areas of academic achievement motivation, assessment, pregnancy and parenting, attitude and values formation, and socioemotional development. Additionally, she has interests in computer-assisted instruction and computer access and usage in socially disadvantaged populations.